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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VOYAGES
OF
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS;
AND THE
DISCOVERY
OF
AMERICA, AND THE WEST-INDIES.

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THE
VOYAGES
OF
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

VOYAGE FIRST.

CHAP. I.

Columbus' first voyage. The difficulties with which it was attended. His discovery of the Lucayan or Bahama islands, when the men, despairing of finding land, were about to throw him overboard. His discovering Cuba and Hispaniola. His return to Spain, with the reception he met with from their Catholic Majesties.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was born in the territory of Genoa, and being early taught navigation, lived by drawing charts for the sea service. The skill of the Portuguese in maritime affairs, at length engaged him to settle at Lisbon, where, by his sobriety, temperance, and the regularity of his conduct, he acquired a considerable number of friends, married a woman of fortune, and, for some time, traded to the coast of Guinea.

Columbus, reasoning upon the spherical figure of the earth, thought it highly probable that the continent on one side was balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other ; in which he was fully confirmed, by observing when at the Cape de Verde islands, that the winds, at a certain season, constantly blew from the west, which he thought must be owing to a large tract of land on that side. And as the Portuguese had already discovered great part of the coast of Africa, and were filled with hopes of finding a passage to the Indies, he had no doubt that by sailing to the west he should discover a shorter way thither, and by that means obtain the spices and other rich commodities of those countries, much cheaper than they were sold to the Venetians in Egypt, after being brought by land through Persia.

Having strengthened this opinion by many observations drawn from reason, he laid them before the state of Genoa, with a proposal for making new discoveries : but that republic rejected his scheme from the fear of drawing upon it the resentment of several princes ; on which he addressed himself to John II. king of Portugal, who listened to his project. and amused him with the hopes of putting it in practice, till having drawn from him the essential part of his scheme, he under the pretence of sending supplies to the Cape de Verde islands, fitted out a vessel, in order to make these discoveries, without allowing Columbus either the profit or honour he might justly have hoped to receive from them : His un

generous enterprize, however, miscarried through a want of courage and conduct in the persons employed.

This unfair and clandestine conduct was so deeply resented by Columbus, that he resolved to leave Portugal, and that very year, 1485, sent his brother Bartholomew with the same proposals to Henry VII. king of England, while he himself prepared to go to Spain on the same account ; but Bartholomew being taken and plundered by pirates in his passage, was on his arrival at London reduced to such extreme poverty, as rendered him unable to gain an audience of his majesty, till by drawing and selling charts, he acquired some reputation, and put himself in such an equipage as was necessary for his obtaining access to the King. This honour he obtained in the year 1488, when he met with all the success that could be desired, and actually entered into an agreement with Henry VII. on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher closed with their Catholic Majesties.

Mean while Christopher Columbus met with many difficulties at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, where his scheme being treated as an idle chimerical project, and himself exposed to ridicule, he was with difficulty prevented, by some who espoused his cause, from coming to England, to see what success his brother Bartholomew had met with. However, queen Isabella at length approving his scheme, the articles of agreement were signed in 1492, by which Columbus was

made viceroy of the countries, and admiral of the seas he should discover ; that he should have the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found or acquired, within those limits, after the charge of the conquest should be defrayed. together with an eighth part of all he should bring home with his fleet, in consideration of which he was to be at one eighth part of the expence in fitting it out.

The necessary preliminaries being thus adjusted, he was allowed three small vessels, the Santa Maria, commanded by himself ; the Pinta, under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the Nina, with square sails, commanded by Vincent Yañez Pinzon, brother to the former ; the latter furnished one half of Columbus' share of expence.

This small fleet, which carried only about 120* men, set sail from Palos on the 3d of August 1492 ; but the next morning the rudder of the Pinta broke loose, which obliged the admiral to ly by. This damage, which was supposed to have been contrived by the master, who was averse to the voyage, was however soon repaired : This accident some of the superstitious seamen would have interpreted as an ill omen ; but Columbus wisely told them, that no omen could be evil, where people were engaged in a good design. He endeavoured to divert their attention from such trifles by teaching them the principles of naviga-

* *Herrera says that this fleet was manned by only 90, but many authors of good authority represent the number as above.*

tion, and to keep up their spirits by giving them right sentiments of the undertaking in which they were embarked.

The fleet reached the Canaries on the 11th, and staid at the islands of Grand Canaria and Isabella till the 6th of September, in order to purchase another ship; but being disappointed, they sailed to the westward with very little wind. Three days after losing sight of land, many people on board wept bitterly from the apprehension that they should never see it more. To remove this childish despondency, which it was feared would infect the whole company, Columbus gave them the most confident assurances of prosperity and wealth, and at the same time thought proper to deceive them in his reckoning; for though they sailed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended that they had made no more than fifteen, resolving thus to disguise his reckoning during the whole voyage, that these spiritless fellows might not think themselves so far from Spain as they really were.

On the 12th of September he was 150 leagues west of Ferro, and at this distance from land discovered the body of a large tree, which appeared to have been long floating in the water. He here found a strong current setting to the north west, and having run 50 leagues farther westward, he on the 13th perceived the needle varying half a point towards the northeast, and at day-break half a point more. This variation which had never been observed before, filled him with

great surprise ; but his amazement was much increased when sailing about an 100 leagues farther, he found that the needle varied at night about a point to the north-east, and in the morning pointed upon the north star.

On the 14th, the people on board the Nina were surprised at the sight of a heron, and some tropic birds ; and the next day their astonishment was greatly increased at seeing the sea covered with green weeds that seemed to have been lately washed away from some rock or island ; Hence they concluded that they were near land, especially as they found a live lobster floating among the weeds, and afterwards perceived the sea water grow less salt as they advanced ; they were also attended by great shoals of tunny fish.

On the 18th, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, captain of the Pinta, who went a-head, lay to for the Admiral, and informed him that he had seen a great number of birds flying west-ward, and thought he discovered land to the northward at 15 leagues distance, but the Admiral being convinced that he was mistaken, would not alter his course, though solicited by the people, who readily gave credit to such an agreeable illusion ; but the next day the Admiral seeing a number of sea-gulls, which he supposed could not fly far, began himself to conceive hopes of soon reaching land ; yet sounding with a line of 200 fathoms he could find no bottom. Three days after they took a bird like a heron, of a black colour, with a white tuft on the

head, and web-footed ; they also saw abundance of weeds, and in the evening were visited by three small birds, singing, which flew away by day-break, and confirmed Columbus in the opinion, that they could not be far from land. The next day they also saw a tropic bird, and such a quantity of weeds as filled them with apprehensions that their course would be impeded.

As the wind had hitherto been always right astern, the people were under the most dreadful apprehension that they should never have a fair gale to carry them back ; but about this time it shifted to the south-west, which gave great satisfaction to the Admiral, as it afforded him room to convince the sailors of the vanity of their fears ; yet in spite of all his reasons and remonstrances, they began loudly to murmur from the apprehension of perishing at sea in quest of a country that had no existence, and their discontent became so clamorous, that a mutiny would probably have ensued, had not a brisk wind sprung up at west-north-west, and demonstrated that they always have a chance for returning. Their hope of obtaining land was also revived by seeing a pigeon fly over the ship, and by the sight of several small birds flying from the west.

In proportion as the people were elated by these signs, the greater was their mortification on their disappointment. They not only loudly complained against the Admiral, who, they said, had from a foolish and ill grounded fancy, formed the design of raising his own fortune and family at

their expence, but caballed against him, maintaining that they had already proceeded far enough to shew their courage and perseverance, and that it was therefore high time to return to their friends and country, though they should be even obliged to compel Columbus to consent to it. They considered that the Admiral was a foreigner, and therefore would scarcely have interest enough at court to bring them to punishment for their disobedience, especially as he had powerful enemies, who, they knew, would embrace every opportunity of opposing his designs. In short, their terror and despair were raised to such a height, that some proposed throwing him overboard, and alledged that when that was done, they should be secured from all farther danger, by their affirming, on their return to Spain, that he had fallen into the sea while he was making his observations. Columbus, therefore, ignorant of this mutiny, but confident of his abilities, in order to encourage them, sometimes represented it as very easy to him, as being invested with skill and dexterity, which he was resolved to exert at the hazard of his life; and always reproached them with their pusillanimity and impatience, which even the most evident signs of their being near land could not remove. In short he shewed the folly of their fears, and so far encouraged their hopes as to prevent their taking any resolution that could prejudice the important enterprise in which they were engaged.

On the 25th of September about sunsetting,

Pinzon, whose ship was along side of the admiral, suddenly cried out, Land ! land ! and pointed towards the south-west, where there appeared something like an island at 25 leagues distance. This at once filled the men with such joy, that they gave thanks to God with great fervour and devotion ; and tho Columbus was of a different opinion, he readily complied with their clamorous demand of sailing to it, and stood towards the supposed island during the greatest part of the night. Early in the morning finding their hopes of reaching land disappointed, they renewed their clamors. The admiral, however, with a steadiness and intrepidity peculiar to himself, persisted in the execution of his purpose.

On the 29th they saw several wagtails and gulls, many flying fishes also appeared, and sometimes fell into the ship, and in the afternoon they met with a large quantity of weeds, which the men fancied afforded a proof that there was ground near them under water, and that they should soon run upon it and perish.

On the 1st of October the pilot of the admiral's ship was, by his own account, 578 leagues west of the island Ferro ; and tho the distance according to Columbus' reckoning was 707, he winked at the mistake lest the sailors should be more dejected on knowing their great distance from home. Two days after perceiving no birds, they imagined they had passed between some islands, and the sailors earnestly intreated the admiral to steer either to the one side or to the other, in quest of

the land they imagined they had left. He however refused to comply with their intreaties, being unwilling to lose the favorable wind that carried them to the westward, and resolved not to take any step to lessen the reputation of his undertaking, which must have suffered in the opinion of his people, had he changed his course from that which he had all along assured them would terminate in the accomplishment of their wishes. This fortitude they termed obstinacy and madness, and were actually on the point of taking some desperate resolution to his prejudice, when their hopes were again revived by the arrival of upwards of forty sparrows, and other birds flying from the west.

On the 7th of October there appeared some imperfect signs of land; but nobody would venture to mention it; for tho' their Catholic Majesties had promised a pension of thirty crowns per annum for life, to him who should be so happy as first to discover land, yet to prevent their noisy exclamations at every trifling imagination of this sort, it was also decreed, whoever should cry land three days before it was actually made, should forfeit the reward, even though it should be afterwards proved that he was the discoverer. In spite of this precaution, the *Nina*, which being the best sailor, kept always a-head, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours in token of land; but the appearance that misled them totally vanished at their nearer approach. The people were, however, the next day in some measure comforted

under their disappointment by observing many flights of large and small birds, which proceeded from the west to the south-west, when the admiral being fully persuaded that they could not go far to sea; in imitation of the Portuguese, who had discovered several islands by following the flight of such birds, altered his course and stood to the south-west; for he had now run 750 leagues to the westward of the Canaries, within which space he himself expected to make land.

On the 8th of October they were visited by twelve singing birds of different colours, and saw many others as jays, ducks, and gulls flying to the south-west. The air also appeared fresh and odoriferous; but the pusillanimous seamen had been so often deceived, that these certain signs of their being near land could not suppress their murmurs, which, during the two following days, increased to such a degree, that the brave Columbus, in spite of all his endeavours, would not have been able much longer to have withstood the storm, which was ready to burst into open rebellion, when it was providentially dissipated, by such manifest proofs of their approach to land as could not be disputed.

On the 11th of October those on board the Admiral's ship saw a greer rush, together with a large rock-fish swim by the ship: the sailors of the *Pinta* discovered a cane floating; and, what was much more extraordinary, took a staff curiously wrought, together with a small board,

and at the same time the crew of the Nina perceived a branch of thorn full of red berries.

These objects having now assured the admiral of the vicinity of land, he at night, after prayers, reminded them of the mercy of God in granting them fair weather during such a long voyage, and exhorted them to be vigilant that night, as he expected to see land next day, and not only mentioned the pension of 30 crowns, but promised to give a velvet doublet to him who should be the first discoverer. After this speech he retired to the great cabin, from whence perceiving what appeared to be a light on shore, he called to one of the sailors, who being desired to observe, acknowledged that he plainly saw it, and supposed it to be a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman, or traveller, as it seemed to move, and to vanish and appear by turns. This increased their vigilance and caution, tho' they still pursued their course, till about two in the morning, when the Pinta being far a-head, gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor at the distance of two leagues; the pension, however, was given to the admiral, who had before perceived the light. As they were now so near the shore, all the ships lay to, and the people waited for morning with the extremest impatience, in order to feast their eyes with what they had so long and so earnestly wished to behold.

Their hopes, however, were not now disappointed, for day no sooner dawned than they perceived an island about forty five English miles in length

and almost one continued plain, covered with green trees; it was supplied with delightful rivers, and had a great lake in the middle. It was inhabited by a number of people, who being astonished at the sight of the ships, which they at first mistook for living creatures, ran down to the shore. The Spaniards were inflamed by the most eager curiosity to know the particulars of this interesting discovery, and the vessels were no sooner brought to an anchor, than the Admiral landed his boat well armed, with the royal standard displayed, attended by the other two captains, in their respective boats, with the particular ensigns of this enterprise.

Immediately on their landing they kneeled on the shore, gave thanks to God, and, shedding tears of joy, kissed the ground. Columbus then, standing up, gave the island, which was called by the natives Guanihani, the name of St. Salvador*, and took possession of it for their Catholic Majesties. This ceremony being performed, he was acknowledged as Admiral and viceroy by the Spaniards, who now implored his pardon for the affronts and insult they had offered him, and joyfully swore to obey him as their majesties representative.

A multitude of the Indians were present at these transactions, and they appearing to be a very simple and quiet people, Columbus distributed among them strings of glass beads, red caps,

* *It is now called Catt-Island.*

and other things of small value, which they received with transport, and on his returning to his ship, some of them swam after him, while others followed in canoes, with javelins, armed with fish-bones, spun cotton, parrots, and other things, to barter for such trifles as he had distributed among the rest. Few of these people seemed to be above thirty years of age; they were of a middle stature, well-shaped, and of an olive colour, with thick lank black hair, which was generally cut short above their ears, though others had suffered it to grow, and tied it up like tresses of women. They had open countenances, very regular features, and high foreheads. The bodies of some and faces of others were painted black, white, and red, tho' a few of them had only their noses and eye-lids coloured. But all of both sexes were entirely naked, and so little were they acquainted with European arms that they handled a naked sword by the edge, without any suspicion that it was capable of hurting them. Some of these people being asked by signs how they had got the wounds, the marks of which were still visible on their bodies, they answered in the same manner, that they received them in their own defence, when fighting against the inhabitants of other islands who came with a view to enslave them.

The next morning being the 13th of October, many of the Indians came to the ships in their canoes, which were made by hollowing the trunk of a tree. Some of them were so small as to hold

only one person, and others large enough to contain forty. They were rowed with paddles, and were so light that if they happened to be overset, the rowers could easily set them right again, and empty the water with calabashes, or dried goards, which they carried with them for that purpose.

These Indians had no jewels nor any kind of metal, except small plates of gold that hung at their nostrils, which, by their signs, they informed the Spaniards came from the south-west, where there were many countries and islands. They were so fond of possessing any thing belonging to the Spaniards, that some of them picked up bits of broken earthen ware that lay upon the deck, leapt into the sea and swam ashore with them. They were ready to exchange any thing in their possession for the most insignificant trifles, and some of them gave twenty-five pounds of well spun cotton for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing: Not that they believed these things had much intrinsic value; but they seemed to prize them only because they belonged to the white men, whom they considered as people descended from heaven, and of whom they desired to keep some memorial.

On the 14th of October the Admiral coasted the island with his boat towards the north-west, till he discovered a large bay or harbour sufficient to contain all the ships in Europe, being all the while followed, both by sea and land, by crowds of the inhabitants, who expressed their wonder

and regard by a variety of gesticulations. At length arriving at a peninsula he saw several of their houses and plantations, which appeared as pleasant as those of Castile in the month of May. However, finding that this was not the land he was in search of, he took seven of the Indians to serve as interpreters, and returning to his ships, sailed to other islands that were visible from the peninsula.

On the 15th of October having sailed seven leagues, he arrived at the west end of another island which he found to be about ten leagues in length, and gave it the name of St. Mary, or the Conception; but perceiving that the inhabitants differed but little from those of St. Salvador, and that it produced nothing worth notice, he continued his course west-ward, and anchored upon the coast of another large island, which extended north-west and south-west above 28 leagues. Before he reached this agreeable spot, which he named Fernanda, he took up an Indian whom he found at sea in a small canoe, furnished with a piece of bread, a calabash filled with water, and a little earth resembling vermilion, which was used by those people in painting their bodies. This Indian had also a small basket in which was contained a string of glass beads and two small pieces of Portuguese money, from which it appeared that he was bound from St. Salvador or Fernanda, with the strange news of the Admiral's arrival; but the voyage being long, he was weary with paddling, and desired to be taken on board.

Columbus treated him courteously, gave him bread and honey to eat, made him drink wine, and on his setting him on shore gave him some toys, in order that by his favourable report he might prepossess the natives of Fernanda in favour of the Spaniards. The success answered the Admiral's expectations; for the islanders on hearing the favourable account given by the Indian, came in their canoes to barter with the same sort of commodities which were found at St. Salvador; but they appeared to have more sagacity, and made more advantageous bargains. The women wore a kind of cotton cloth round their middle. Their houses were built like tents, but had scarcely any furniture: and the beds in which they lay were formed of a kind of nets that hung from two posts. Here were some trees that seemed as if ingrafted, by their bearing leaves or branches of four or five several kinds. There were plenty of fish of different shapes, and colours, some lizards, snakes, and dogs that could not bark.

Columbus finding nothing valuable in this island, sailed on the 19th of October to another, to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of her Catholic Majesty. This Island far exceeded the others in beauty and extent. It abounded with rivers, pleasant meadows and groves, and the prospect was diversified with hills, which the rest wanted: the ear was delighted with songs of birds, which hopped from bough to bough, but even flew in such flocks as darkened the air. Near one of the lakes the Spaniards killed an alli-

gator seven feet long with their spears, which, though at first they beheld with horror, they afterwards skinned and ate, this animal being esteemed by the Indians as most delicious food.

Columbus was no sooner acquainted with the produce of Isabella, and the manners of its inhabitants, than he set sail with a fair wind, for a large country to the south, which was extolled by the Indians under the name of Cuba, and arrived there on the 28th of October. It exhibited a pleasing variety of hills and dales, woods and plains, and from the extent of its coast, and the largeness of its rivers, appeared to be of great consequence.

To obtain some intelligence of the natives, the Admiral cast anchor in a broad river, the banks of which were shaded by thick and tall trees, that were at the same time adorned with blossoms and fruit entirely unknown in Europe. Soon after they landed they entered two houses which were deserted by the natives, who being terrified at the appearance of the ships, had fled; upon which the ships re-embarked without touching any of the effects, and continued their course westward till they arrived at the mouth of another river: but this being larger than the other, Columbus sailed a considerable way up it. The banks were all along inhabited; but here also the natives fled, with all the effects they could carry, to the mountains, which arose to a considerable height, and were covered with lofty trees.

Columbus being sensible, that if the inhabitants should thus continue to avoid him, he should

never be able to learn the nature of the island, and being afraid of increasing their terror by landing a number of men, ordered two Spaniards, attended by an Indian of St Salvador and another of Cuba, who had boldly ventured to come aboard with his canoe, to travel up into the country, and to endeavour by their obliging behaviour to remove the terror of the people. In the mean time he directed his ship to be careened, on which occasion he observed that the only fuel of the country was mastic wood, which grew there in great plenty.

On the 15th of November the two Spaniards returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his son, and informed the Admiral that they had travelled twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town consisting of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, which contained about 1000 people; that they were met by the principal persons of the place, who took them by the arms and led them to the town, where they were allowed a spacious lodging, in which they were seated upon wooden benches, in the form of some strange animals, with their tail's lifted up for them to lean upon, and had eyes and ears of gold. The Spaniards being seated on these benches, the Indians sat around them on the ground, and came one by one to kiss the hands and feet of those strangers, imagining they had come from heaven; they at the same time treated them with boiled roots which in their taste resembled chesnuts. After the men had thus fulfilled the

rights of hospitality they retired, to make room for the women, who also kissed their hands and feet, and entertained them with their homely fare. This favourable reception they owed to their two Indian attendants, who represented the Spaniards as a humane and generous people.

On their setting out to return to the ship, a great number of the natives proposed to accompany them; this offer they declined, and would accept of none but the Cacique or king, and his son, under whose protection they were entertained with great respect at several petty towns, meeting many of the inhabitants, who always carried lighted brands to kindle the fires, with which they roasted the roots that constituted their principal food. In return for these civilities, the two Princes were treated by the Admiral with great kindness and respect.

In this excursion they saw variety of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales; but no quadrupeds, except a kind of dogs which could not bark. A great part of the land was cultivated, and bore, besides the bread root, maize or Indian corn, of which the natives made a very well tasted flour. Their principal manufacture was cotton, which they gathered from trees that grew without the least care or culture, and of this they made vast quantities of well spun yarn, but had no other use for it than forming hammocks and short aprons for the women. The Indians, afterwards, carried great quantities of this cotton on board the ships, where they

willingly exchanged a basket of it for a thong of leather. They had no gold, pearl or spices, but pointed towards the east, where they intimated that there was a country plentifully stored with them.

In consequence of the above information, Columbus resolved to sail to the place which the Indians called Bohio ; but before he left Cuba he seized twelve Indians whom he intended to carry into Spain, which seizure was made with such little disturbance, that the husband of one of the women he had taken, came to the ship in his canoe, and begged that he might be allowed to accompany his wife and children. This instance of affection gave great pleasure to the admiral who instantly granted his request, and gave orders for their being kindly treated.

On the 19th of November, Columbus, who had before endeavoured to leave the island, but was driven back, steered eastward for the island of Bohio ; but the wind being still contrary, he was obliged to ply two or three days between the islands of Cuba and Isabella. In this interval Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had been informed by some Indians whom he had concealed in his ship, that Bohio abounded in gold, took advantage of the swiftness of his vessel, and left Columbus in the night, in order to anticipate his success, and ingross the treasure of that wealthy island to himself.

Columbus being thus abandoned by one of his consorts, and the weather growing so rough as to

render it dangerous for him to keep the sea, he returned to another harbour in Cuba, to which he gave the name of St Catharine's. While the crews were here employed in taking wood and water, he accidentally discovered signs of gold on some stones in the river, and up in the country saw the mountains covered with tall pines sufficient to furnish masts for the largest ships, and plenty of oak fit for planks. In his run along the coast for ten or twelve leagues to the south-east, he discovered many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was so delighted with the beautiful appearance of the country, that he was even tempted to fix his habitation there for life. Sailing up one of the rivers he saw a canoe drawn upon land as large as a twelve oar barge, and afterwards perceived in the water another canoe, which though formed of the trunk of a single tree, was seventy feet long, and capable of containing fifty men.

The Admiral having coasted the island for 160 leagues, set sail again for Bohio, which, though it was but at 16 leagues distance, he was prevented by the currents from reaching till the next day, when he anchored in a port to which he gave the name of St Nicholas, from its being the festival of that Saint. He found that the harbour was large, deep, extremely safe, and encompassed with a great number of tall trees, which however were not in general so large as those of Cuba ; but not being able to obtain any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled at his ap-

proach, he coasted the island to the northward, till he arrived at a port which he called the Conception; when observing that the country was very extensive, and in many respects resembled Spain, both in the trees, plants and fishes, he gave it the name of Espaniola or Hispaniola. He here saw a number of the natives, who, upon the landing of the sailors, fled from them with great precipitation; but they having at length taken a young woman who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose, she was conducted to the Admiral, who presented her with several trifles, such as small bells and glass toys, civilly dismissed her to the town where she dwelt, sending with her three Spaniards, and the same number of Indians.

The next day eleven men well armed went on shore, and travelled four leagues up the country, where they found a town which consisted of 1000 houses: and tho the inhabitants, as usual, fled at their approach, they soon returned, at the persuasion of a St. Salvador Indian who followed them, and removed their fears by the favorable account he gave of the Spaniards, on whom they gazed with equal astonishment and awe: they even brot them food, and pressed them to stay in the town all night; the Spaniards, however, declined accepting this invitation, and returning to their ships, told the Admiral, that the country was fertile and pleasant, and the people whiter and handsomer than those they had hitherto seen: that they were courteous and tractable, and had

let them know that gold was to be found farther to the eastward.

At this news Columbus immediately set sail, and between Hispaniola, and a small island on the north coast, called afterwards Tortuga, he took up, in a very rough sea, an Indian who was struggling with the waves in a little canoe, and, giving him some presents of small value, set him safe ashore on the coast of Hispaniola. This man informing his countrymen of the manner in which he had been treated, induced them to come on board, but they brought nothing with them of consequence, except some small grains of gold that hung at their ears and nostrils, of which they shewed by signs that there was a great quantity higher up the country.

While the Spaniards were on shore the next day, bartering with the Cacique or sovereign of that district for a plate of gold, forty men in a canoe approached from the island of Tortuga, when the Cacique perceiving them, sat down with his own people on the strand, as a signal that they should not commit hostilities ; but notwithstanding this they landed ; upon which he arose, and by his threats obliged them to re-imbark, and then giving a stone to one of the Spanish officers, made a sign for him to throw it at the Tortugans, to shew that he would espouse the cause of these strangers against the Indians of the canoe, who on their seeing this returned to the island.

On the 18th of December the same Cacique

came to pay the Admiral a visit, carried in state on a palankin, and attended by 200 men, though both he and they were entirely naked. He made no difficulty of going on board Columbus' ship, and the Admiral being at dinner, entered the cabin without ceremony, attended by two old men who seemed to be his counsellors, and sat down at his feet. Columbus received him with great civility and respect, and had provisions and wine set before him, which on his tasting he sent to some of his men who remained upon deck. After dinner, during which both he and the two old men spoke but little, he presented the Admiral with two thin pieces of gold and a wrought girdle; in return for these he received a string of amber beads, which the Admiral took from his own neck, a pair of red shoes, a counterpane, and a bottle of orange flower water, wherewith this Prince and his two attendants were so delighted, that they signified to Columbus, that the whole island was at his disposal. The Admiral then shewed him the effigies of Ferdinand and Isabella impressed in a gold medal, which he viewed with admiration, and indeed shewed signs of astonishment at every thing he saw. In the evening, he was, at his own desire, sent ashore in the ship's boat, and saluted with a discharge of several guns, the noise whereof filled him with amazement and terror; he was, however, so satisfied with his reception, that he ordered his people to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him to land, and returned home with the Admiral's pre-

sents carried with great pomp and ostentation before him.

On the 24th of December, Columbus weighed, and sailed to a promontory, afterwards called Punta Santa, where, the weather being calm, he anchored about a league from shore, and retired to rest, which he had not enjoyed for two days before; his example was followed by the crew, who, contrary to his repeated orders, had the folly to leave only a boy at the helm. This instance of neglect proved fatal; for about midnight the vessel was carried upon a ridge of rocks, before any on board were aware of the danger. The Admiral being the first who was awakened by the cries of the boy at the helm, ran upon deck, and perceiving the rocks, ordered the master and three sailors to leap into the boat and carry out an anchor astern, but instead of obeying his directions, they rowed to the other ship in order to preserve their own lives. Upon this Columbus immediately caused the vessel to be lightened, and the masts to be cut away; but all his endeavours were ineffectual, and the water ebbing, the seams of the ship opened. But while they were in this emergency, the boat returned, the other ship refusing to receive the men who had deserted their duty. The Admiral then seeing no hopes of saving his own vessel, took the boat, and going with his men on board the other, the next morning dispatched messengers to inform the Cacique of this disaster, and to desire the assistance of the natives in unlading the ship. The

Cacique, who condoled their misfortunes with tears in his eyes, immediately ordered his people to repair to the wreck in their canoes, and to obey Columbus' directions ; and by their assistance, all the valuable effects were carried on shore, and deposited in houses appointed for that purpose.

On the 26th of December this friendly Cacique, whose name was Guacanagari, paid another visit to the Admiral, whose loss he lamented with many expressions of sorrow ; made him several presents, and perceiving how fond the Spaniards, were of gold, promised to send for a great quantity of that metal from a place called Cebao. Meanwhile a canoe with Indians from another island brought plates of gold to exchange them for bells, on which they set a very great value, and the seamen on shore traded with the natives of Hispaniola, who came from the inland part of the country, and bartered gold for points and other trifles. Among the rest, an Indian came to the shore with a piece of gold that weighed four ounces, and holding it in one hand stretched out the other, and an hawk's bell being put into it, he let go the gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard.

Columbus being greatly pleased both with this island and the manners of its inhabitants, resolved to settle a colony upon it, and was encouraged to take this step by many of his men voluntarily offering to settle there : while the Cacique Guacanagari instead of being disposed to take umbrage

at their neighbourhood, considered them as valuable allies, who would protect him from the invasion of the Caribbee Indians : and in order to shew the importance of his friendship, Columbus gave orders, in the presence of this Prince, for firing a great gun at the wreck, through which the ball penetrated, and fell into the water on the opposite side, to the great astonishment of the Indians, who believed that their guests knew how to dart the thunder of heaven, and therefore earnestly implored their protection. In compliance with this request made to him by Guacanageri, Columbus ordered a fort to be built of the timber of the wreck, and having furnished it with provisions, ammunition, small arms and cannon, manned it with a garrison of thirty-six men under the command of Rodorick d'Escovedo, Peter Gutieres and James d'Arana, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and good offices of the friendly Cacique and his people. Having thus provided the fort with all necessaries, he caused a few houses to be built, named the place, The town of the Nativity, and resolved to return immediately to Castile, lest some misfortune happening to the only ship he had now under his command, he should be forever disabled from letting their Catholic Majesties know the important discoveries he had already made, and the countries he had annexed to their dominions.

When every thing was ready for his departure, he called those together who chose to be left upon the island, and addressing himself to them,

desired them to return thanks to God for having carried them to such a country to plant his holy faith; and not to forsake him their almighty friend, but by living like good Christians to ensure his protection; he exhorted them to love and obey their captain; to respect Guacanagari, and to give no offence to any of his people; and that the opinion of their coming from heaven might be confirmed they should offer no violence to any of the natives, observing, it would be for their interest to barter with them fairly without covetousness; to endeavour to learn their language, which would be of great use, and to gain their friendship, which would render them happy and secure. In return for which he promised to entreat their Majesties to reward them for opening the way to that new world.

He set sail from the port of Nativity on the 4th of January, taking such notice of the land as would enable him to discover the mouth of the harbour in any future expedition; and sailing to a high mountain, he gave it the name of Monte Christo; but the wind being contrary, he had made but little way, when two days after he fell in with the *Pinta*, under the command of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who going on board, strove to excuse his desertion, by pretending he had lost sight of the Admiral in the night, and by alledging other frivolous excuses; but though Columbus plainly saw the fallacy of all these pretences, he disguised his sentiments rather than run any

risk of prejudicing the common cause, by giving rise to a dangerous dissension.

Pinzon had sailed to a river 15 leagues to the east of the port of Nativity, where he had spent sixteen days in bartering with the natives for gold, of which he had procured a considerable quantity; one half whereof he distributed among his crew in order to obtain popularity, and to gain their consent to keep the remainder for his own use. He afterwards anchored near Monte Christo, the wind not permitting to proceed farther, and then sailed in his boat up a river to the southwest of the mount, where discovering some gold dust among the sand, he called it the Golden River.

On the 13th of January, being near the cape called Enamorado, Columbussent his boat on shore, where there stood some Indians, with all the signs of consternation and fierceness in their countenances. They were armed with bows, arrows, and other weapons, and made a shew of opposition; but by the mediation of a St Salvador Indian, they were brought to a kind of conference. One of them then ventured on board the Admiral's ship, but appeared extremely savage both in his speech and aspect, which was smutted with charcoal. This man having answered several questions, partly by signs and partly by means of the Indian interpreter, he was feasted, and then set ashore with presents of glass beads, and bits of red and green cloth, that he might persuade his countrymen to bring gold in exchange for such trifles.

At the place where he was set on shore, there were 50 men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrots feathers, and being armed with bows and arrows, refused to trade with the Spaniards, notwithstanding the persuasion of their countryman; but on the contrary treated them with scorn, and even began to commit hostilities. The Spaniards, who were but seven in number, seeing them advance with fury in their looks, met them half way, and boldly charging them, shot one with an arrow and wounded another with a sword, on which they instantly fled. Columbus was far from being displeased at this skirmish, which he imagined would give them such an high opinion of the bravery of his men, as would prevent their making any attempts to the prejudice of the settlement at the Nativity.

On the 16th of January, the Admiral set sail with his two ships for Spain: but after having enjoyed a favourable gale till they were within 263 leagues to the westward of Ferro, they were overtaken by such a tempest on the 14th of February, that the sea running mountains high, they were unable to work their vessels, and were tossed about at the mercy of the waves. During this storm the two ships were separated, when the seamen in each, concluding that those in the other had perished, betook themselves to acts of devotion, and the Admiral vowed to go a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadalupe; but the storm still increasing, the whole crew of the Admiral's ship joined in a vow to walk barefoot and in their

shirts to some church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in the Christian country on which they should land. They had great scarcity of provisions, and their ship wanting ballast, was in danger of being upset. To remedy this last inconvenience, Columbus ordered his casks to be filled of sea-water; and that his discovery might have some chance of being known, in case he and his men perished, he wrote a brief account of it upon two skins of parchment which he wrapt in oil-cloths covered with wax, and having inclosed them in two separate casks, had them thrown into the sea. This must be allowed to have been an extraordinary instance both of his prudence and fortitude.

On the 15th of February, at which time the storm still continued, one of the sailors discovered land, which the pilot judged to be the rock of Lisbon, though the Admiral imagined it to be one of the Azores; and soon after they discovered other land, which proved to be St Mary, one of the Azore islands, where they with great difficulty cast anchor four days after. The Admiral being lame of both his legs in consequence of the fatigues he had undergone, many of the inhabitants came on board with fresh provisions and compliments from the governor expressing their amazement at the success of the expedition, and seeming to rejoice at Columbus' discovery. They were all surprised to see that they outlived the storm; and letting the sailors know, that there was in that neighbourhood an her-

mitage dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the Admiral and his crew resolved to perform their vow, by walking thither barefoot. To fulfil this penance, he sent his boat on shore with one half of the company, with orders to return immediately, that the rest might succeed them in the same kind of devotion ; but the first company had no sooner undressed themselves and begun their procession, than they were attacked and made prisoners by the governor, who lay in ambush with some of his people for that purpose.

Columbus having in vain waited from day-break till noon for the return of the boat, began to suspect foul play : and not being able to discover the hermitage, he sailed round a point, by which means he obtained a full view of it, and perceiving several Portuguese on horse-back alight and enter his boat, as he imagined, to attack the vessel, he ordered the sailors to be upon their guard. He hoped that the commander of these men would come on board, in which case he resolved to detain him as an hostage ; but the Portuguese not daring to advance beyond a certain distance, he demanded the reason of their committing such an outrage upon his men, who had gone on shore upon the faith of a safe conduct, and let them know that the King of Portugal would certainly be offended at this act of hostility, committed against the subjects of their Catholic Majesties, with whom he was in alliance. To this the Portuguese captain answered, that what they

had done, was by the King's express orders, which giving Columbus reason to imagine that there was a breach between the two Crowns, and calling all his people to bear witness to what they had heard, he again directed his discourse to the Portuguese, and swore that he would never quit his ship till he had seized a hundred Portuguese, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left; but the next day, the wind increasing, he lost his anchors, and was obliged to stand out to sea towards the island of St Michael, though not without being exposed to great danger from his having only three able seamen on board, the rest being landmen, Indians and boys. The weather being mild, the next day he endeavoured to recover the island of St Mary, which he reached on the 21st, and soon after his arrival, a boat was sent to him with five men and a notary, who, in the governor's name, desired to know whence the ship came, and whether he had really the King of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars they returned and caused the Spaniards to be released: for the King of Portugal had sent orders to all his governors to secure the Admiral's person; but as this scheme did not succeed on account of Columbus' staying on board, it was then proper to dismiss the prisoners. The Admiral having recovered his men, departed from the island of St Mary, on the 24th of February, with a very favourable wind; but on the 3d of March he was exposed to another tempest, du-

ring which his sails were split, and he narrowly escaped being wrecked on the rock of Lisbon, which they accidentally discovered at midnight; but having weathered it with great difficulty, he was the next day obliged to come to an anchor in the river Tagus, on which he immediately sent an express by land to their Catholic Majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the King of Portugal, to desire leave to cast anchor before the city, as he did not think himself safe in his present station.

On the 5th of March the master of a guardship, with a boat filled with armed men, came up to Columbus, and ordered him to give an account of himself to the King's officers, as was customary with all the vessels that entered the river. To this Columbus replied, that he was the King of Spain's Admiral, and would not degrade himself so far as to send the most inconsiderable person on board his ship on such an errand. The Portuguese finding him resolute, desired to see the King's letter, which being complied with, they returned to Alvaro de Acunha, who soon after came on board Columbus's ship, attended with fifes, drums and trumpets, and congratulated him on his return with many expressions of friendship. The nature of Columbus' voyage was no sooner known at Lisbon, than the people were filled with the utmost curiosity to see the Indians, and to learn the particulars of his amazing discovery; the whole river was therefore soon covered with boats filled with people, some of whom praised

God for Columbus' success, while others lamented the hard fate of their nation, which had lost such a prize through the incredulity or the avarice of their King.

His Majesty having received the Admiral's letter, gave orders for his being presented with all kinds of refreshments and necessaries gratis, and at the same time wrote to him to congratulate him upon his happy return, and to let him know that he desired to see him before he left his dominions. Columbus at first doubted whether he ought to accept this invitation ; but considering that Spain and Portugal were at peace, and that he had been already treated by the King with uncommon respect, he resolved to wait upon his Portuguese Majesty, who then resided at Val Paraiso, a place nine leagues from Lisbon ; he therefore set out on Saturday the 9th of March, when the King ordered his whole court to go out and meet him, and Columbus being conducted into the royal presence, his Majesty insisted on his putting on his cap ; and being seated in his presence, he heard with seeming pleasure, the particulars of the voyage, and offered to supply him with every thing he desired, yet observed, that as Columbus was before in his service, the conquest of right belonged to him ; but the Admiral modestly gave his reasons for being of a contrary opinion ; to which the King replied, that " it was very well, and he did not doubt but that justice would be done."

Columbus having staid all Sunday, and part of Monday, took his leave, after his Majesty had in

vain attempted, by very considerable offers, to re-engage him in his service. On his return, he was attended by many persons of rank, and passing by a monastery in which was the Queen, her Majesty desired to see him, and received his visit in a respectful manner. The same night a gentleman arrived from the King, to inform him that if he chose to go to Castile by land he would accompany him ~~and~~ provide him with accommodations on the road, as far as the frontiers of Portugal. This offer he declined with suitable acknowledgments, and setting sail on Wednesday the 13th of March, arrived on the Friday following at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, whence he had departed on the 3d of August in the preceding year.

Columbus was received on his landing by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his success, which it was hoped would greatly redound to the spreading of Christianity, and the advantage of their Catholic Majesties. Pinzon had already arrived in Galicia, and had resolved to carry in person the agreeable news of the discovery to court, when he received orders which forbade his coming without the Admiral, under whose command he had been sent on the expedition; and this mortifying disappointment made such an impression upon him, that he immediately fell sick, and returning to the place of his birth, he in a few days after died of grief and vexation.

In the mean time Columbus set out for Seville,

on his way to Barcelona, where their Majesties then resided, and the roads were crouded by people of all ranks who flocked to see him, and the Indians in his train. He arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, and was received by the whole court and city in the most solemn manner. The streets could not contain the multitudes that pressed to see him, with the Indians and the curiosities he brought, which were carried uncovered. Their Majesties, to do him honour, ordered the royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves with Prince John, under a canopy of cloth of gold. The Admiral was introduced by several gentlemen, and, on his approaching the throne, the King rose up and gave him his hand to kiss, when, Columbus kneeling, his Majesty desired him to raise, ordered a chair to be brought him, and made him sit by his side. Columbus then gave an account of his voyage, his discoveries, and his hopes of finding still more extensive and important countries; shewed them the Indians, as they appeared in their native countries, and gave them a specimen of every thing he had brought from the new world. When he had done speaking, their Majesties rose, and kneeling down with their hands lifted up, and with tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, which was immediately followed by the choristers of the chapel singing the *Te Deum*.

In short Columbus was treated as a grandee of the first rank who had performed the most important services for his country, and when the

King rode about Barcelona, he would have him constantly by his side ; an honour which had been conferred upon none but princes of the blood. He was also gratified with new patents, which confirmed and enlarged the privileges he had before obtained. The more his discoveries were canvassed by the council, the more important they appeared, and therefore their Catholic Majesties not only agreed that he should continue them, but dispatched an ambassador to Pope Alexander VI. to desire him to exert his apostolic authority in their favour, and to grant them an exclusive title to the countries that had been, or should be, discovered. The Pope complied with his request, and drawing a line from pole to pole, at the distance of 100 leagues westward from the Azores, or from the Cape de Verde islands, bestowed on their Catholic Majesties the dominions of all the sovereigns and states in that extensive part of the globe.

C H A P II.

Columbus' second voyage. He sails with a more numerous fleet, arrives at the Caribbee islands, and discovers Dominico, Morigolante and Guadalupe in which last place he lands, and endeavours in vain to trade with the natives. He thence proceeds to several other islands, the most remarkable of which are Montserrat, and St. John's, and arriving at Hispaniola finds the colony ruined, and the Spaniards destroyed by their own folly; upon which he restores things to a good situation; quells a mutiny, and having taken the most prudent measures, sets sail upon other discoveries; lands at Jamaica; meets with a multitude of islands, to which he gives the name of the Queen's Garden; steers along the coast of Cuba and after suffering many difficulties, returns to Hispaniola where he finds everything in great confusion; but having made new regulations for the security of the settlement, he sails for Spain.

IN a little time, such measures were taken for Columbus' second expedition, that seventeen vessels were fitted out for further discoveries, and the settlement of colonies. The thirst of gold, and the success of the first voyage, drew together such a multitude of volunteers, that a great number were rejected, the Admiral resolving to take no more than fifteen hundred persons, amongst whom there were many artificers and laborers.

Columbus having provided all kinds of utensils,

and a large stock of trifles most agreeable to the Indians, and having taken on board cows, horses, asses and other animals for breeding in the new plantations, with the seeds of plants, trees, and all kinds of grain, &c. he sailed from the road of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and stood south-west for the Canary islands. He arrived at the Grand Canaria on the 5th, anchored at Gomera, where he took in water, wood and cattle, and in particular eight sows, from which were produced all the swine now in the West-Indies*.

On the 7th he continued his voyage for the Indies, after his having delivered his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened unless the fleet should be separated by stress of weather; They now ran 400 leagues west of the Canaries without meeting with any of those weeds which they had seen in their first voyage.

On the 2d of November, Columbus perceiving a great alteration in the winds, and there falling a violent shower of rain, concluded that he was near land, and the next morning observing about seven leagues to the westward, a high mountainous island, which he named Dominica*, from its being discovered on a Sunday. Three other

* They received the name of West-Indies from Columbus' sailing to them by the west, and expecting to find the species at that time brought from the east by the way of the Red Sea

* Dominica is now subject to England but is very little cultivated.

islands were discovered much about the same time, when the people assembling on the poop, returned thanks to God for their wonderful success, in having sailed near 800 leagues in the space of twenty days. The Admiral finding no convenient place for anchoring on the east side of Dominica, stood over to another island, which he called Marigalante†, after his own ship, and having landed, he with the usual solemnity, took possession of it for their Catholic Majesties, as he had before done, with respect to all the other islands he had discovered.

On the 14th of November, he sailed to another considerable island which he named St. Mary of Guadaloupe*, in consequence of a promise he had made to the friars belonging to a convent of that name. He there, at two leagues distance, perceived a very high rock which terminated in a point, whence gushed a large torrent of water, which fell with a prodigious noise. Here he landed some men who went to a town, which at their approach, was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except the children, to whose arms the Spaniards tied a few bawbles, as a mark of friendship. They here found geese, like those of Europe, a great number of large parrots, and other birds, pompions, ananas, or pine-apples, of exquisite taste and flavour: they also found bows and

† *This is at present subject to England.*

* *This, which is one of the largest of the Carribbee islands, is now subject to England.*

arrows, cotton, and several other things, which they left behind them in order to give the owners a good opinion of their morals.

The next day the Admiral sent two boats on shore with orders, if possible, to take a view of the natives, from whom he might obtain some important information; and these returned with two young men, who by their signs let him know that they were born in another island, and were taken prisoners by those of Guadaloupe, who were called Carribbees. The boats, again going on shore for some of the men they had left, found six women who had fled to them, and desired to be carried on board, which being done, the Admiral gave them bells and beads, and then dismissed them, though by their signs, they shewed an ardent desire to stay; but they were no sooner landed, than the Carribbees robbed them of their ornaments in the very sight of the Spaniards. The next time the boat's crew landed, these poor creatures leaped into the boat, and by the most expressive gestures, implored protection from the cruelty of the islanders, who, they signified, had kept their husbands in slavery. This information occasioned their being brought to the Admiral, whom they gave to understand, that towards the south, there were many islands, and a large continent. Columbus would have immediately left Guadaloupe, had he not been informed, that the captain of one of the ships had, without his permission, landed with eight men before it was light, and was not yet returned; he therefore sent sev-

eral of his people on shore, with trumpets and muskets, the noise of which might be heard through the woods; and this search proving fruitless, he sent another detachment of forty men, commanded by a captain, with orders to proceed through the country, and make observations on its productions. They found abundance of cotton, some trees which in taste and smell resembled cinnamon, and also frankincense, ginger, sanders, aloes and mastic. They likewise saw nightingales, daws, partridges, geese, herons, kites and falcons. While they were thus employed, the stragglers returned of their own accord, when Columbus ordered their Captain to be put in irons, and punished the rest by shortning their allowance of provisions. The Admiral himself then landing, found great quantities of cotton, spun and unspun, with many human skulls and bones hung up in baskets; and observing that the natives were better accommodated with lodging, provisions, and other necessaries than those of the other islands he had before discovered.

On the 10th of November, the Admiral weighed anchor, and sailing with his whole fleet towards the north-west in search of Hispaniola, passed an island, to which, on account of its height he gave the name of Montserrat*; and having passed by St Mary Redonda, and St Maria la Antiqua †, he

* *This island which is one of the smallest of the Caribbees, is now subject to the English.*

† *Now called Antigua. This island which is*

discovered several other islands, near one of which he cast anchor, and called it St. Martin. His people here seized four men and three children; but as the boat was putting off with them from shore, they met with a canoe, in which were four men and one woman, who finding it impossible for them to escape, put themselves in a posture of defence; when the woman shot an arrow with such force and dexterity, that it passed through a strong target; but the Spaniards endeavouring to board them, upset the canoe, on which the Indians betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow and arrow in the water, with the same dexterity as if he had been on dry land.

The Admiral again setting sail, continued his course west-north-west, leaving to the northward above fifty islands, the largest of which he called St. Ursula, and the others, the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He then came to an island, to which he gave the name of St. John Baptist, and having anchored in a bay on the west side of it, his men caught several kinds of fish, as skate, soles, pilchards and shads; and also saw falcons, and some shrubs resembling wild vines. Some of the men afterwards landed, when they perceived several houses, with a square in their front, from which was a spacious road

20 miles long and near as many broad, is also subject to England. Its chief produce is sugar; but as it has the misfortune to have no brooks or rivers, the inhabitants save the rain-water in cisterns and reservoirs.

down to the sea, flanked on both sides with towers made of cane, the tops which were worked curiously interwoven with greens, and at the end of the road next the sea was raised a lofty gallery or balcony, capable of containing ten or twelve persons.

On the 21st, the Admiral arrived in the bay of Samana, on the north side of Hispaniola, and immediately sent on shore one of the Indians, a native of that part of the country, whom he had carried into Spain. and who being converted to the Christian Faith, undertook for the submission of all his countrymen.

The Admiral continuing his voyage to the town of the Nativity, was visited at Cape Angel by some Indians, who came on board to barter their commodities for those of the Christians; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his people were sent ashore in a boat, when, to their great surprize, they saw at a small distance the bodies of two men, with a rope about their necks, made of a kind of broom, and their arms extended upon a piece of wood in the form of a cross; but though they could not discern whether they were Europeans or Indians, they considered this as an ill omen.

The next day, which was the 26th, the Admiral sent several persons on shore, in different places, when many of the Indians went to them with great confidence and appearance of friendship, and pronounced several Spanish words they had learned from the settlers, which eased the Admiral of

the apprehensions he had begun to conceive, judging that they would not have behaved with such freedom and unconcern, had they been conscious of their having injured the men he had left behind him ; but the next day put an end to his doubts ; for on his anchoring near the town of Nativity, some Indians in a canoe came to the fleet inquiring for the Admiral ; but refused to come on board till they saw him ; from them he learned, that some of the Christians left there, died of distempers, and the rest were separated, and gone to other countries ; but though Columbus suspected foul play, he for the present concealed his suspicions, and the same evening dismissed the messengers with a present of bawbles made of tin, and other trifles, for the Cacique Guacanagari, and themselves.

The next morning Columbus landed, when, to his great concern, he saw nothing but ruin and desolation ; the houses and fort were burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians but a few ragged clothes, and things of no value. As he had ordered the Spaniards, at his leaving them, if any thing happened, to throw the gold into a well he had made in the fort, he ordered that well to be cleansed : but no gold was to be found there ; he soon after found the bodies of eleven Spaniards, who seemed to have been dead about a month. However, while he was ruminating on this event with a mind filled with resentment and sorrow, he was visited by the Cacique Guacanagari's brother, who came attended by some Indians, who

had learned to talk a little Spanish, and by them he was informed that he had scarce set sail, when those he had left behind began to quarrel amongst themselves, every man endeavouring to amass all the gold he could obtain, and to take as many wives from the natives as his unbounded appetite demanded. That Escevedo and Peter Gutierres having killed one of the men named James, had, with nine others, retired with their women to Canaubo, a Cacique, who was Lord of the mines, and who put them all to death; after which, that Cacique came attended by a great number of men to destroy the town, when there were only James de Arant, and ten of his men, who had remained with him to guard the fort, the rest having dispersed themselves about the island. Canaubo, who came upon them in the night, instantly set fire to the houses where those eleven Spaniards lived with their women; on which they fled into the sea, where eight of them perished, and the other three were slain on shore, while Guacanagari endeavoured to revenge the Spaniards by making war on Caunabo, but was put to flight, after his having received a dangerous wound which confined him to his house, and prevented his waiting on the Admiral.

This account perfectly agreed with the intelligence received from some Spaniards who had been sent up the country, and had visited the wounded Cacique at his own house, who greatly desired to see Columbus. The next day therefore the admiral paid him a visit, and was received with

the utmost cordiality and concern for what had happened. Guacanagari repeated the melancholy story, with all the marks of unfeigned sorrow, and at the same time shewed his own wound, and those of his men, which they had received in defence of the Christians, and that plainly appeared to have been made with wooden swords and arrows pointed with fish-bones, and not with any European weapons. The compliments of condolence being passed, the Cacique presented the admiral with eight strings of small beads, composed of red, green, and white stones, a string of gold beads, a crown of the same metal, and three small calabashes full of gold dust, which weighed about thirty two ounces. In return for these valuable presents, the admiral gave him a variety of bawbles, which might be worth about three reals, or twenty-pence. Though the Cacique was extremely ill, he insisted on attending his guest to the fleet, where he was courteously entertained, and much pleased at the sight of the horses, of which the Spaniards had before given him an account. This Cacique was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which he was at first unwilling to embrace.

Columbus being disgusted at a spot which had been the scene of so many disasters, and knowing that there were better and more commodious places in the island for the settlement, sailed on the 7th of December with the whole fleet to the eastward, and cast anchor before an Indian town

where he resolved to plant a colony. With this view, the people designed for settlers were landed, with provisions and proper utensils, in a plain where he built a town, to which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of the Queen. It was conveniently situated near a rock where a fort might be erected; the harbour was spacious, and at the distance of a bow-shot ran an excellent river, from which canals might be easily cut through the midst of the place, and beyond it lay an open plain, from which the Indians said, the mines of Cebao were not far distant,

From the 11th of December to the 12th of March in the following year, 1494, Columbus was employed in completing this new settlement, and having at length regulated the affairs of the town, he dispatched Alonzo de Hojedo, with fifteen men, in search of the gold mines; and on the 2d of February, sent twelve of his ships back to Castile, with a letter to their Catholic Majesties, in which he gave a very particular account of whatever had happened since his arrival in the West-Indies.

Hojedo soon after returned from this expedition, and informed the Admiral that on the second day after he set out from Isabella, he lay at the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain, and afterwards at the distance of every league, found Caciques, by whom he was hospitably entertained; but continuing his journey, he arrived on the sixth day at the plain called the mines of Cebao, where he saw the Indians picking up gold out of a small river, as

they did from many others in the same province. This information was highly agreeable to the Admiral, who was just recovered from a fit of sickness occasioned by fatigue; and on the 12th of March, having caused all the ammunition belonging to the other ships, to be put on board his own, he left a strong guard in the two ships and three caravels, and set out from Isabella for Cebao, attended by all the rest of his people, some of whom were on horseback, and others on foot.

The Admiral took this precaution of securing the ships, in consequence of his having detected a conspiracy, headed by one Bernardo de Pasa, who had embarked from Spain in quality of comptroller to their Catholic Majesties. This person had taken the opportunity of the Admiral's illness to tamper with some of the men, who being disappointed of the gold they expected to find without the least trouble, and dissatisfied with the regulations of the new settlement, readily joined with him in the design of revolting from the Admiral, and seizing the ships in order to return to Spain; but this mutiny being discovered, the Admiral caused the ringleader to be secured, till he could have an opportunity of sending him home to take his trial.

Columbus, in order to fill the Indians with the greater awe and respect, made his men march in regular order through the villages, with trumpets sounding and colours flying, and also carried with him every thing necessary for building a fort at Cebao. He marched along the banks of the

river which runs by Isabella, and crossing another river, lay in a pleasant plain which extended to the foot of an high and craggy rock, which formed a pass. The next day he entered a spacious plain; in which he travelled five leagues, and spent a night near a broad river, which the men crossed in floats and in canoes: This, which he called the River of Canes, falls into the sea at Monte Christo. In his march he passed by many Indian towns, composed of round thatched houses, the doors of which were so low that no person could enter them without stooping down. The inhabitants seemed to have very little notion of private property; for the Indians, who attended the Spaniards from Isabella, freely entered the houses and took what they liked best, without giving the least offence to the former possessors, while the latter attempted to take what they liked from the Spaniards, and seemed surprized at meeting with repulse. The way was hitherto agreeably diversified with mountains covered with vines, and other fruit-trees of various sorts.

On the 14th of March, Columbus set forward from the River of Canes, and at the distance of a league and a half, arrived at the banks of another river, which he named the Gold River, from their gathering here some grains of that metal. Having passed it with some difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where he found that many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and the rest barred their doors against him with canes, and having passed by another river, and several towns

which were barricaded against him in the same manner, he entered the province of Cebao, which though rough and stony, yields plenty of grass, which is watered by several rivers, which abound with gold washed down from the mountains; but though this is a very large province, it has few or no trees except some pine and palm-trees, which grow on the banks of the river.

In this country he caused a fort to be erected in a very strong, though pleasant situation, to command the country about the mines, and protect the Spanish adventurers. The fort which was built of timber and clay, was of sufficient strength to withstand the attack of any number of Indians, and having placed a garrison in it of sixty men, among whom were workmen of several sorts, to finish and repair the works, he set out on his return, and was met with considerable numbers of the natives, who came to sell their provisions, which chiefly consisted of a kind of bread, and garlic. On the 29th of March he arrived at his new colony of Isabella, where he found melons already fit to eat, though the seed had not been above two months in the ground, and a wild vine of that country being pruned, produced large and excellent grapes; some wheat which had been sown in the latter end of January, already produced ears fit to gather; vetches produced a ripe crop of a much larger sort than those they had sown, within twenty-five days; sugar canes, and the stones of fruit sprouted out in seven days; vine-branches produced leaves in the same time, and

yielded green grapes in twenty-five days ; Columbus had therefore great reason to be pleased with the soil and climate, and particularly with the water, which was extremely pure, cool and palatable.

On the 1st of April, a messenger arrived at Isabella, from the new fort, to which he had given the name of the castle of St. Thomas, with advice that the Cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack that fort. Columbus was but little concerned at this news, as he knew that he had nothing to apprehend from the natives, who were under great apprehension at the sight of his horses ; yet as he intended to go to sea with three caravels, in order to discover the continent, he thought it necessary to leave every thing in tranquility behind him, and therefore sent a reinforcement to the fort, of seventy men, part of whom were to be employed in making the road more passable, and in searching for the fords of the rivers. In the mean time he completed his town, which was laid out in regular streets, with a convenient market-place ; supplied it with river-water by a canal, and erected a water-mill for grinding wheat ; but as his people were not accustomed to the food of the natives, and provisions began to fail, he resolved to send the superfluous mouths to Spain. This step he thought himself obliged to take, from his finding that the climate disagreed with many of his people, who were in a sickly and languishing condition. As for those who enjoyed health, and were not absolutely necessary in the town, they were sent to traverse the island,

in order to observe its situation, and accustom themselves to the Indian diet. These were commanded by Hojedo, who had orders to March to Cebao, and deliver up the command of these men to Peter Margarite, to conduct them round the island, and himself to command the fort of St Thomas.

On the 29th of April, Hojedo, with his party, which consisted of above 400 men, left Isabella, and having crossed the river del Oro, or the Gold River, apprehended a Cacique and his brother whom he sent in irons to the admiral. This Cacique had accommodated three Spaniards, with five Indians to carry their cloathes over a river, but being in the middle, they returned back, and run away with the baggage, while the Cacique, instead of punishing them, converted what they had taken to his own use. Another Cacique, who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the service he had done the christians, went with the prisoners to Isabella, to intercede in their behalf. Columbus entertained him very kindly; but to heighten the favour he intended to grant, ordered the Cacique and his brother to be put to death in the market-place; at which their honest friend shed a flood of tears, and earnestly begged that their lives might be spared; whereupon the admiral instantly forgave them. These were no sooner released, than a man on horse back, who had just arrived from St. Thomas, told the admiral, that on his way through the town belonging to the Cacique, who had been his prisoner, he alone had rescued four Spaniards

whom the Indians had taken by way of reprisal, and chased above 400 persons, who fled at the sight of his horse.

The admiral being resolved to discover the continent*, appointed a council to govern the island in his absence, consisting of his brother, Diego or James, who was president, and five other persons.

* *It is worthy of remark, that while Columbus was thus settling the affairs of Hispaniola, John Cabot, (a citizen of Venice, who lived at Bristol) and his son Sebastian, sailed from the last mentioned city upon discoveries; saw the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prima Vista or First-seen; and on the 14th of June, the same year 1494, went ashore on an island, which they called St. John's, from its being discovered on St. John's day. John Cabot, on his return to England, reported, that this island was barren, but that the sea near the coast abounded with fish; that the people wore bear-skin clothes, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts, and slings; and upon this report, he obtained a patent for making discoveries; but this gentleman dying soon after, King Henry VII granted a new patent to his son Sebastian, who set sail on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus began his third voyage. Sebastian sailed as high as 67 deg. 30 m. north latitude; proceeded from thence into the latitude 50 deg. and from thence ran down to 38 deg. along the coast of the continent of America, which he expressly says, was afterwards called Florida, where provisions growing short, he sailed back, touched at Newfoundland, and returned to England.*

He then sailed with three ships to Cuba, and running along the south side of that island, entered a large bay, which he called Puerto Grande, from its extent and depth of water. While he continued his course along the coast, a great number of Indians came aboard in their canoes, with presents of bread, water and fish; in return for which he gave them a few bells, beads, and other trifles.

On the 5th of May he reached Jamaica *, where he had been told there was great plenty of gold. On his casting anchor at that island, he thought it the most beautiful of any he had yet seen, and a surprising multitude of the natives came in canoes of different sizes to exchange provisions for toys. The next day he coasted along the island; but sending out his boats to sound the mouths of the harbours, they were soon surrounded with canoes filled with armed men, who seemed resolved on beginning hostilities. However, the Spaniards being determined to enter Puerto Bueno, saluted them with such a flight of arrows, that several of them being wounded, the rest instantly retired. In that port the admiral repaired his ship, and afterwards sailed back to Cuba, with a firm resolution to know whether it was an island or a continent. The same day a young Indian of Jamaica coming on board, begged to accompany Columbus to Spain; and though many of his kin-

* *The reader may find an accurate description of the present state of Jamaica, in the account of the discoveries and settlements of the English.*

dred, and other persons intreated him with tears in their eyes to return, he persisted in his resolution, and the admiral gave orders that he should be treated with the utmost civility.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed in an island somewhat bigger than the rest, which he called St Mary's; but entering a town, all the inhabitants fled, when the Spaniards found nothing but fish in their houses, which was all the food those people lived upon, and some dogs resembling mastiffs, that lived on the same food. He then directed his course north-east, where he was still bewildered by an astonishing number of flats and islands; and notwithstanding all his precautions, in sounding and keeping men upon the round top to look out, the ships was often a-ground, and this obliged him to relinquish his design of sailing east about, before he returned to Spain.

Being now in great want of water, he again touched at Cuba, when one of his sailors mounting a tree with a cross-bow, to kill some bird or beast, discovered thirty people armed with spears and staves, and among them a person dressed in a white vest which hung down to his knees, and carried by two men in long garments, that reached to their feet, all three being as white as the Spaniards; but seeing so many of their attendants, he was terrified, and calling to his companions, the Indians ran away without looking back. The next day the admiral sent some people on shore, to discover the truth of this report; but the woods and marshes were so impassable, that after having

of the Indians, against the oppression of the lieutenant and his brother; and his artful misrepresentations had not only an effect on some of the natives, who refused to pay the tribute, but made an impression on the minds of the Spaniards, who still remained under the government of the lieutenant, many of whom were by the warmth of the climate, disposed to a life of idleness, and more discontented at their having received no supplies from Spain; and indeed, such a spirit of disaffection was diffused among them that the lieutenant did not dare to punish the guilty, for fear of a general revolt.

From these apprehensions, he was however in some measure relieved by the arrival of the two ships first sent, in consequence of the Admiral's solicitations; for these bringing a reinforcement of men and provisions, with the assurance that the Admiral himself would soon follow, the people were encouraged to persevere in their duty. These two ships being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched towards that city, in order to obtain necessaries, and if possible, seduce some of the new comers; but he was anticipated by the activity of the lieutenant, who reached the place before he was within six leagues of it, and so effectually guarded the passes, that he could not succeed. Yet as he earnestly wished to have the Admiral find the island in tranquillity, he sent overtures of accommodation by the commander of these vessels; but Roldan sent him back with a contemptuous refusal.

While things were in this situation, the three

ships which the Admiral had detached from the Canary islands arrived, but instead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, were driven by the currents as far westward as the Province of Xaragua, where they were visited by Roldan and his followers, who seduced many of the people, and prevailed on them to enter into his service. The captains of these three vessels, understanding that Bartholomew Columbus and the Alcade were at variance, agreed that Carvajal, the commander of one of the ships, should stay in Xaragua, and endeavour to produce an accommodation; that John Antonio Columbus, who commanded one of the other vessels, and was kinsman to the Admiral, should conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that Captain Arana should sail round with the ships. John Antonio Columbus accordingly landed with forty men; but on the second day of his march, all his followers, except six or seven, deserted to the rebels, and with these he was obliged to return on board after his having in vain expostulated with Roldan, upon his treacherous conduct on this occasion.

After a troublesome voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled, and Carvajal's vessel greatly damaged, his ships arrived at St. Domingo, whither the admiral was just returned from the discovery of the continent. His brother had informed him of Roldan's revolt; at which being greatly concerned, he caused Roldan to be informed, that he was extremely sorry for the breach that had happened between him and the Adelan-

tado, or lieutenant, and was very desirous of healing it; that he should be glad to see him, and would grant him a safe conduct. At the same time, hearing that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the island, for want of vessels to carry them home, he published a proclamation, granting leave to all that desired it to return to Spain, promising to supply them with provisions and a free passage. Roldan, however, treated all the admiral's advances towards a reconciliation with indignity and insult, boasting that it was in his power, either to support or suppress the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat without the mediation of Carvajal, whom, he said, he knew to be a man of honour and discretion.

As Carvajal was a person of consequence, and had some prudence, Columbus, though he had reason to suspect his fidelity, since he had supplied the rebels with arms, while the ships lay at Xaragua, consented to employ him in his negotiation. Roldan, however, refused to treat with him, sent an insolent letter to the Admiral, and being at length persuaded to accept of a safe conduct, and to visit Columbus, made such extravagant proposals, as he could not embrace without exposing himself to contempt. Columbus therefore explaining his reasons for rejecting them, and proclaiming a free pardon to all who should return to their duty within thirty days: a copy of which, with new overtures of peace, was carried to the rebels by Carvajal; and about the same

time, Columbus sent five ships to Spain with a particular account of the colony, and its dissensions, addressed to their Majesties.

After many disputes, it was at length agreed that the Admiral should deliver to Roldan two good ships well manned and victualled for transporting him and his party to Spain: That they should be paid their salaries and wages to the day of their departure; and that such of their effects should be restored, as had been seized by his and the lieutenant's order. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships; but the weather being extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they were ready, and could be brought round to Xaragua, and during this interval Roldan changed his mind, and refused to embark; but expressing a desire to see the affair accommodated, demanded a safe conduct in order to treat with Columbus in person. The latter being sensible of the mutinous disposition of his own people, was so solicitous about healing this division, that he not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went around with two caravels to the port of Azura near Xaragua, where he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that fifteen of Roldan's followers should be sent home in the first ships bound for Spain; that lands and houses should be given instead of pay to those who remained; that Roldan should be again appointed perpetual alcade, and that an act of general amnesty should be published.

This troublesome affair being thus adjusted, the Admiral caused a captain, at the head of a body of men, to march round the island in order to pacify and reduce the rebellious Indians; and that no cause of animosity might be left in Hispaniola, he proposed to take his brother the lieutenant with him to Spain; but while he was preparing for the voyage, Alonzo de Hojedo arrived in the island with four ships, from a cruize, in which he had pretended to make discoveries, and putting into the port Yaquimo, not only committed several outrages against the Indians, but by letter began to tamper with some of the Spaniards, who were hardly yet confirmed in their duty. To these he insinuated, the Queen Isabella was in a very bad state of health, and that, after her decease, the admiral would find no protection at court; but must fall a victim to the hatred of Hojedo's kinsman, the Bishop of Burgos, and Columbus' inveterate enemy.

The admiral being informed of these proceedings, ordered Roldan to march against him with 21 men. This order he obeyed so suddenly, that Hojedo finding it impossible to escape went to meet him, excusing his landing, under pretence of his being in want of provisions, and declared that he had no intention to disturb the repose of the island, but would soon sail to St Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. But notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced many of the people, by telling them, that he and Carvajal

had been appointed by their majesties counsellors, as he had not been so just as to pay them, they should go under his command, and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the Spaniards, who were amazed at Hojedo's presumption, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded; but Roldan marching a second time against him, he retired to his ship. The alcade perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come ashore, and treat of an accommodation; and upon his refusal offered to go on board, when Hojedo sending his boat well manned, Roldan, with six or seven of his followers, entered it, and when it was least suspected, fell upon Hojedo's men, made themselves masters of the boat, and returned with it to land, which obliged Hojedo to submit to a treaty, and give security that he would depart the island.

Soon after another commotion was raised by Ferdinand Guevara, who was in disgrace with the Admiral, for being concerned in the late sedition, and he being exasperated against Roldan, for not permitting him to marry the Queen of Xaragua's daughter, entered into a conspiracy with one Adrian de Moxica, and having engaged many people in his interest, resolved to surprize and murder the Alcade. But Roldan being informed of their proceedings, took his measures so well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and being ordered by the Admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial, in consequence

of which, Moxica was hanged, some of the confederates banished, and others sent to prison.

This example had such an effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island : and about this time, such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man left the King's pay, and went to dig on his own account, allowing the King one third of all that was found. In this employment they met with such success, that one man would sometimes gather forty ounces in a day, and a lump of pure gold was found that weighed 196 ducats.

While Columbus was thus exerting all his prudence, and exercising his humanity in appeasing the troubles of Hispaniola, he little thought a storm was raising against him at home. A number of malcontents had been sent to Spain during the rebellion, who represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the laws and customs of the Spanish nation ; oppressive and cruel in his disposition ; elated with the dignity to which he had been raised, and so avaricious and unjust, that he not only withheld the pay due to the servants of the government, but embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed with still greater bitterness against his brother the lieutenant, nor did Diego escape the utmost virulence of their censure. These invectives being spread abroad by the friends of those who had been the disturbers of the peace of Hispaniola, and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied Columbus' success and reputation, such a clamour

was raised in Castile, that the King and Queen were daily surrounded in the streets, and even in the palace, by people, demanding justice against that proud and tyrannical foreigner, who had oppressed so many Castilians, and discovered a mischievous country to be the ruin and grave of the Spanish gentry; and the favourites at court joining the importunities of the people, their Majesties sent an inspector general to Hispaniola, with power to inquire into the Admiral's conduct, and if he should be found guilty, to send him home while the inspector was to remain governor of the island in his room. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, but in very low circumstances, was chosen for this high office; and being furnished with full powers, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of August 1500, while the Admiral was at the Conception with most of the people of consequence, settling the affairs of that province.

Bovadilla finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, immediately took possession of the Admiral's palace; seized his effects; assembled all who were disaffected to the brothers; declared himself governor; dispatched orders to the Admiral, to repair to him without delay, and to back this summons, sent him the King and Queens letter, which contained no more, than that their Majesties had sent the bearer to acquaint Columbus with their pleasure, which he was directed to obey, and this order was signed both by the King and Queen.

Columbus immediately on his receiving this letter, set out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla, who, without any legal information, sent him and his brother Diego on board a ship, where they were laid in irons, placed under a strong guard, and entirely excluded from the speech of any person whatsoever. A process was then begun against them, and all their enemies being admitted evidences, their depositions were so malicious, incoherent and absurd, that nobody who had not been determined, at all events, to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. Bovadilla, however, on this occasion, countenanced the most flagrant perjuries, and even encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners, by blowing horns at the port where the ships lay at anchor, and by reading scandalous libels in the market-place. The lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might probably have rescued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to submit quietly to their Majesties authority, vested in the person of the new governor, who had no sooner laid his injunctions on Andrew Martin, the captain of the ship, to deliver the admiral in irons to the bishop de Fronseca, by whose direction he acted, than he began to embezzle the treasure; squander the king's revenue amongst his creatures; oppress and plunder the Indians; countenance the greatest profligacy, and destroy all the prudent regulations established by the admiral.

Andrew Martin was no sooner out to sea, than

being ashamed to see the brave Columbus in this disgraceful situation, would have knocked off his irons; but he resolved to wear them during the whole of his passage, and to keep them ever after, as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his services; and indeed these fetters he always preserved in his own chamber, and, at his request, they were at length buried in the same coffin with his body.

On the 20th of November 1500, he wrote to their Catholic Majesties, to acquaint them with his arrival at Cadiz. Upon which they gave immediate orders for his being released; sent him very gracious letters, in which they expressed their sorrow for his sufferings, and invited him to court, promising that he should soon be sent again and fully restored to his honours.

On his return at Granada, the King and Queen gave him a favourable reception, and let him know, that they were offended at the author of his imprisonment, who had acted thus without their orders, and promised that he should have full satisfaction. Mean while they directed this affair to be examined, and the accusations against him plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted, and at the same time, a new governor of Hispaniola was appointed in order to redress the Admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to restore what he had unjustly seized. This commission was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel and revengeful, who

afterwards exercised great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs.

It was at the same time resolved to send the admiral upon some voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed, till Obando could settle the affairs of Hispaniola; but there being some delay in the execution of this design, and the admiral being apprehensive of future disgrace, from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, he desired to be excused from embarking again, and intreated their Majesties to defend him against all dangers. This procured him a very favourable answer, and soon after the most advantageous grants and concessions, which made him resolve once more to expose his life in another voyage to the Indies, in order to perfect his discoveries.

CHAP. IV.

A digression, containing the discoveries made by other Spaniards, while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage.

BEFORE we proceed to Columbus' next voyage, it is proper that we should give some account of the discoveries, whether real or pretended, before he again set sail for America. Alonzo Hojedo, who has been already mentioned in the course of this voyage, and Americus Vesputius, obtained from the Bishop of Burgos the draughts and plan, which by their majesties order Columbus had deposited in the hands of that prelate, who, out of hatred to that great commander, and to rob him if possible of his credit and reputation, gave them up without the knowledge of the king and queen. The licenses he gave these gentlemen were also clandestine. They set sail from Cadiz on the 29th of May 1499, and steered directly in search of the continent, pursuant to the admiral's scheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the first voyage made by Americus Vesputius: and tho he now only touched at that part of the continent which had been visited by the admiral, yet he impudently pretended to discover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into those parts, dressed up a plausible sto-

where he was favourably received by their Catholic Majesties, who were then celebrating the nuptials of their son with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. He presented the King and Queen with several sorts of spices, various kinds of rich woods, birds of beautiful colours, girdles and masks adorned with gold plates, a large quantity of gold dust, with grains of that metal of different sizes; and had so far improved his former discoveries as to be able to affirm that there were innumerable islands in these new discovered seas, that had the richest soil and abounded with the most valuable natural productions.

Columbus having vindicated his own conduct to their majesties satisfaction, earnestly solicited to be sent back with supplies to the colony he had left, both in want of men, and other necessities; but notwithstanding the warmth of his solicitations, the Court was so dilatory that ten or twelve month elapsed before he could obtain supplies, which was sent in two ships, commanded by Peter Fernandez Coronel. And after his departure, Columbus continued at court, to procure the equipment of such a fleet as was proper for him to conduct to the West Indies. This was however long retarded, by the negligence and ill management of the King's officers, and particularly of Don Juan de Fonseca, arch-deacon of Seville, who was afterwards created bishop of Burgos, and proved an inveterate enemy of Columbus, whom he at length brought into disgrace.

CHAP. III.

Columbus' third voyage. He steers a new course, passes by the Cape de Verd islands, and anchors at one of them, where the Portuguese sent their lepers to be cured by living upon turtle. He thence sails to the west, and discovers the isle of Trinidad, and afterwards the continent, which he at first supposed to be an island, but finding his mistake, called it Paria. He trades with the inhabitants, and returns to Hispaniola. A succinct history of the troubles of that island, and of the Admiral's endeavours to pacify them: but the Court of Spain being alarmed at the many complaints sent from the Indies, depute a person to go thither, to hear and determine them: upon which the Admiral is sent home in irons with his two brothers.

COLUMBUS at last set sail from the bay of St Lucar de Barrameda, on the 30th of May, 1498, with six ships laden with provisions and necessaries for the planters in Hispaniola, with a firm resolution to discover the continent.

On the 7th of June, he arrived at the island of Puerto Santo, where he took in wood and water; on the 9th, touched at Madeira, where he received other refreshments on board; and on the 19th, reached Gomera, at which place a French ship had taken three Spanish vessels, and stood to sea with them, in sight of the squadron. The admiral on being informed of this capture, ordered three of his ships to give chase; but they had too much

way for the Spanish ships to come up with them. However, one of the prizes was retrieved by the bravery of the Spaniards, whom the French had left on board; for clapping their captors under hatches, they returned with the vessel safe into port.

Columbus sailed from thence to the island of Ferro, and having resolved to send three of his ships to Hispaniola, while he sailed with the rest to the cape de Verd islands, and from thence to the continent, he appointed John Antonio Columbus, his kinsman, Peter de Arana, and Alonzo Sanchez de Corvagal, captains of the three ships bound for Hispaniola, with orders that each should command a week in his turn. Having dismissed them near the island Hiero, he, on the 27th of June, descried the island of Sal, the first of the Cape de Verd islands, and passing it, anchored close to a small island, to which all the lepers in Portugal were sent to be cured, by eating tortoises or turtle, and washing themselves frequently with their blood; for in the months of June, July and August, abundance of those amphibious animals resort thither from the continent, to lay their eggs in the sand, and are easily caught by turning them on their backs while they are asleep. This was the sole business of the wretched lepers, and these animals their whole sustenance: for there is neither tree nor spring in the island, so that they are obliged to drink the water of certain pits, which is brackish and unpalatable. The healthy people living on that island, amounted only to six

or seven, whose whole employment consisted in killing and salting goats, and curing their skins, of which there were such multitudes in the mountains, that they have sometimes, in the course of one year, killed to the value of 4000 ducats, though the whole flock was produced from eight goats carried thither by Roderick Alphonso, the proprietor of the island.

On the 30th of June, Columbus sailed for the island of St. Jago, where he cast anchor the next day in the evening, and sent ashore to buy cows and bulls, wherewith to stock his plantation in Hispaniola; but finding that he could not obtain them without some difficulty and delay, he was unwilling to stay in so unhealthy a place, and his men beginning to sicken, he sailed to the south-west, resolving to continue that course, till he should be under the line, and then to steer due west in search of undiscovered countries. He proceeded in this course, notwithstanding his meeting with violent curenents, which set towards the north and north-west, till he arrived within five degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed for eight days, during which the heat was so excessive, that the men could hardly breathe, and had not the air been sometimes cooled with showers of rain, the crew apprehended that they should have been burnt with their ships. The Admiral therefore resolved to steer due west; but having sailed many days in that course, and judging that the Caribee islands lay to the north, he resolved to sail directly for Hispaniola.

Columbus therefore stood to the northward, and one day about noon a sailor going up to the round-top, observed land at the distance of fifteen leagues, that had the appearance of three mountains. This island the Admiral distinguished by the name of la Trinidad, or Trinity, and sailing due west, he anchored five leagues beyond a point which he called Punta de la Galera, from a rock, which at a distance resembled a galley under sail ; but finding no convenience for taking in water he sailed farther west, and cast anchor at another point. Here there took in water, without seeing any houses or people, though in coasting along he had left several towns behind him. The same day, being the 1st of August, they discovered the continent at the distance of 45 leagues ; but mistaking it for another island, the Admiral gave it the name of isle Santa.

Columbus now proceeded to a more westerly point of the island of Trinidad, which he named Punta del Arenal, or sandy point, where landing with his men in order to obtain refreshments, a Cacique of the island came to him, and observing that he wore a cap of crimson velvet, not only paid him respect, but took off a circle of gold he had on his head, and put it on the Admiral's, and with the other hand, took off the Admiral's cap, with which he was greatly pleased, and put it on his own head. The same day when they were aboard their ships, a large canoe carrying 25 men, came from the eastward ; but being about the distance of musket-shot, the Indians gave over row-

ing, and called aloud ; but as what they said could not be understood, the Admiral ordered some of the men to allure them to the ship by shewing them some little brass basons, looking-glasses, and other glittering toys ; but this proving ineffectual, Columbus thinking to please them, ordered one of the men to ascend the poop, and play upon the tabor and pipe, while others danced around him. This, however, had a quite contrary effect, for they took it for a signal of war, and therefore, quitting their oars, laid hold of their targets and bows, and let fly their arrows. Upon this the Admiral ordered the music to cease, and some cross-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be shot : whereupon the Indians immediately laid down their arms, and ran in close under the stern of one of the caravels, the pilot of which went down into the canoe, and giving one who seemed to be a principal person, a red cap, they made signs to him to go ashore, intimating, that they should give him such things as they had ; but while he went in the boat to ask the Admiral's leave, they rowed away.

These people were whiter than the Indians of the other islands, and had agreeable countenances. Their hair was long and strait ; about their heads they tied a piece of cotton-cloth, curiously wrought of several colours, and another about their waists. The admiral wondered, that being so near the equinoctial, he every morning felt the cold, notwithstanding its being in the dog-days ; he observed, that the rivers ran with greater rapidity

than that of Seville ; that the sea, at high water, flowed above 48 paces up the shore, as it did at St Lucar, and that the current set with such strength between the island of Trinidad and Santa, which were only two leagues asunder, that it resembled a rapid river. The Spaniards found that the fruit-trees, soil and climate, were the same as in Hispaniola. They saw parrots, some of a light green, others whitish, and others intermixed with red and yellow ; and also caught very large oysters, and great quantities of other fish.

The ships having taken in water at Punta del Arenal, Columbus proceeded to a point on the north-west of what he till then called Isla Santa, which he thought to be extraordinary high land, as indeed it is ; and this which is a part of the continent near the vast ridge of mountains called the Andes, he afterwards called Paria.

Columbus now proceeded to another mouth or channel which he called Boco del la Sierpe, or, the Serpent's mouth, from the danger of the place for anchoring near a rock, the sea ran so furiously to the northward, that it resembled the mouth of a great river, the stream of which increasing with an hideous noise, met with another current from the gulph of Saria, and swelled up the sea with terrible roaring, to the astonishment and consternation of the Spaniards, who expected to be overwhelmed. However, they suffered no other damage, than one of the ships dragging her anchor. — This danger being past, the Admiral sail-

ed westward, along the coast of Paria, discovering several good harbours and rivers; and going ashore, saw many monkeys, and found plantanes, and other fruit, like those of the islands.

On the 6th of August, they sailed five leagues farther down, between the coast and the isle of Trinidad, where dropping anchor, three men came in a canoe, and being carried to the Admiral, were treated with great civility, presented with toys, and set on shore, at a place where a number of Indians were assembled; who no sooner understood the pacific disposition of the Spaniards than they came in their canoes, to barter with the same things that had been bought by the Spaniards at the islands. They drank a liquor as white as milk, and another that was green, made of fruit and maize. The men covered their heads and waists with well-woven cotton of different colours; but the women here, as well as in the isle of Trinidad, were entirely naked: but they seemed in general to be more civilized and tractable, than the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and were particularly fond of brass trinkets and bells; but having nothing of value, except a few inconsiderable plates of gold, that hung about their necks, Columbus ordered six of them to be taken on board, and then continuing his course, saw a fine country well peopled, and town, which, for its beauty he called the gardens, where he anchored, and many resorted to the ships with wrought cloths on their heads, and some of them with plates of gold about their necks. The Indians on board said

there were plenty of that metal in those parts, and shewed how they gathered it. As they sailed farther, they were still visited by more canoes, in which all the people wore gold collars, with beads of various sorts; and one Indian in particular had a single grain of gold as big as an apple. The women wore strings of beads about their arms, some of which were very fine pearls; these they signified, were found in oysters to the westward of Paria; and the Admiral having purchased some of these for a present to their Catholic Majesties, sent the boats to make further inquiry about that valuable commodity; but though the sailors had no design to land, two of the Indian chiefs civilly constrained them to it, and conducted them to a house, where they were kindly entertained with bread, fruit of several sorts, the white liquor before mentioned, and another of a red colour and good taste; the men all the while keeping together at one end of the house, and the women at the other. When they had been thus treated by the eldest, the youngest carried them to another house and treated them in the same manner. The sailors returned well satisfied to their boats, highly pleased with the people who were whiter than any other of the Indians, and of a very good stature; but what appeared to the admiral as very extraordinary, was, the country appearing cool and delightful, notwithstanding its being so near the equinoctial.

Columbus still continuing his course, found that the water grew more and more shallow, and

therefore anchoring upon the coast, he sent the smallest caravel to discover whether there was an outlet to the westward among what appeared to be islands ; but they found that what appeared to be islands, was one continued continent ; so that standing back to the eastward, he repassed the streights called the Dragons Mouth between Paria and Trinity island, but not without great difficulty and danger from the boisterous currents. He now sailed westward along the coast of Paria, and after passing by several islands, on the 30th of August, entered the harbour of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, where his brother had built a town which he called by that name, in memory of his father, whose name was Dominick.

Columbus was at this time almost blind with watching, and quite exhausted with fatigue ; but he now indulged the hope of tasting the sweet of repose, and enjoying rest and tranquility. He was however grievously disappointed ; for he soon found that the whole island was in confusion. The greatest part of those he had left were dead ; above 160 were miserably infected with the venereal disease, and a great number had rebelled, at the head of whom was Francis Roldan, whom he had appointed alcalde or chief justice.

It has been already observed that a considerable time elapsed before Columbus could obtain a supply from their Catholic Majesties, for the colony of Hispaniola ; In this interval, provisions beginning to fail, the Spaniards of that island began to murmur, became dissatisfied with their situation,

and even dispaired of his return. Roldan, whose office gave him a considerable influence, resolved to take advantage of this spirit of discontent, in order to center the whole power in his own hands, and therefore encouraged the murmurs of the discontented against Bartholomew Columbus, the lieutenant, and his brother Diego, to whose tyranny he imputed all their sufferings. His intrigues were so successful, that the minds of many of the Spaniards were alienated from the brothers of Christopher Columbus, and even made several attempts upon their lives. Roldan, at length, pulling off his mask, assembled his men, who amounted to 65, and attempted to seize the town and fort of the Conception. But this scheme miscarried through the vigilance of Tallaster, the commander, who obtaining intelligence of his design, communicated it to the lieutenant, from whom he received a reinforcement. This rebellious behaviour obliged Bartholomew to send orders to Roldan to resign his post, and submit to an impartial trial; but he disdainfully refusing to obey these commands, marched with his mutineers to Isabella, where he tried in vain to launch a caravel which was upon the stocks, plundered the storehouses and magazines, and obliged Diego Columbus to retire for protection into the fort; after which, he fell upon the cattle that grazed in the neighbourhood, killed many of them for provisions, and took all the beasts of burden to serve his people in their march to the province of Xaragua, where he chose to reside, on account of its being

the most pleasant and plentiful part of the island, and its abounding with beautiful women.

Before Roldan set out for this retreat, he resolved to try his strength, and if possible, surprise the town of Conception where he intended to murder the lieutenant, and did not doubt but he should easily subdue his men, who were too fond of an idle and voluptuous life ; but Don Bartholomew, who was a man of equal courage and discretion, took such measures, that not one of his people would forsake him, and boldly marching out against Roldan, the latter did not think fit to hazard a battle. Roldan now, by artful insinuations, to the prejudice of Christopher Columbus and his brothers, engaged Guarinoex, a powerful Cacique, in his interest, and several Indian lords, who were flattered with the hope of having their tribute remitted, entered into an association, by which it was resolved that at the full moon, the natives should surprise and murder the Spaniards, who, for the convenience of finding subsistence, lived among them in small detached parties. But this project also miscarried through the ignorance of the Indians, some of whom being mistaken with respect to the appearance of the moon, fell upon the Christians before the appointed time, and were easily repulsed ; by which means the conspiracy was discovered, and the Spaniards put on their guard.

Roldan, who was greatly mortified at these repeated miscarriages, now retired with his followers to Xaragua, proclaiming himself the protector

of the Indians, against the oppression of the lieutenant and his brother; and his artful misrepresentations had not only an effect on some of the natives, who refused to pay the tribute, but made an impression on the minds of the Spaniards, who still remained under the government of the lieutenant, many of whom were by the warmth of the climate, disposed to a life of idleness, and more discontented at their having received no supplies from Spain; and indeed, such a spirit of disaffection was diffused among them that the lieutenant did not dare to punish the guilty, for fear of a general revolt.

From these apprehensions, he was however in some measure relieved by the arrival of the two ships first sent, in consequence of the Admiral's solicitations; for these bringing a reinforcement of men and provisions, with the assurance that the Admiral himself would soon follow, the people were encouraged to persevere in their duty. These two ships being arrived at St. Domingo, Roldan marched towards that city, in order to obtain necessaries, and if possible, seduce some of the new comers; but he was anticipated by the activity of the lieutenant, who reached the place before he was within six leagues of it, and so effectually guarded the passes, that he could not succeed. Yet as he earnestly wished to have the Admiral find the island in tranquility, he sent overtures of accommodation by the commander of these vessels; but Roldan sent him back with a contemptuous refusal.

While things were in this situation, the three

ships which the Admiral had detached from the Canary islands arrived, but instead of entering the harbour of St. Domingo, were driven by the currents as far westward as the Province of Xaragua, where they were visited by Roldan and his followers, who seduced many of the people, and prevailed on them to enter into his service. The captains of these three vessels, understanding that Bartholomew Columbus and the Alcade were at variance, agreed that Carvajal, the commander of one of the ships, should stay in Xaragua, and endeavour to produce an accommodation; that John Antonio Columbus, who commanded one of the other vessels, and was kinsman to the Admiral, should conduct the workmen over land to St. Domingo, and that Captain Arana should sail round with the ships. John Antonio Columbus accordingly landed with forty men; but on the second day of his march, all his followers, except six or seven, deserted to the rebels, and with these he was obliged to return on board after his having in vain expostulated with Roldan, upon his treacherous conduct on this occasion.

After a troublesome voyage, in which their provisions were spoiled, and Carvajal's vessel greatly damaged, his ships arrived at St. Domingo, whither the admiral was just returned from the discovery of the continent. His brother had informed him of Roldan's revolt; at which being greatly concerned, he caused Roldan to be informed, that he was extremely sorry for the breach that had happened between him and the Adelan-

tado, or lieutenant, and was very desirous of healing it; that he should be glad to see him, and would grant him a safe conduct. At the same time, hearing that the rebels complained of their being detained upon the island, for want of vessels to carry them home, he published a proclamation, granting leave to all that desired it to return to Spain, promising to supply them with provisions and a free passage. Roldan, however, treated all the admiral's advances towards a reconciliation with indignity and insult, boasting that it was in his power, either to support or suppress the authority of the admiral, with whom he would not treat without the mediation of Carvajal, whom, he said, he knew to be a man of honour and discretion.

As Carvajal was a person of consequence, and had some prudence, Columbus, though he had reason to suspect his fidelity, since he had supplied the rebels with arms, while the ships lay at Xaragua, consented to employ him in his negotiation. Roldan, however, refused to treat with him, sent an insolent letter to the Admiral, and being at length persuaded to accept of a safe conduct, and to visit Columbus, made such extravagant proposals, as he could not embrace without exposing himself to contempt. Columbus therefore explaining his reasons for rejecting them, and proclaiming a free pardon to all who should return to their duty within thirty days: a copy of which, with new overtures of peace, was carried to the rebels by Carvajal; and about the same

time, Columbus sent five ships to Spain with a particular account of the colony, and its dissensions, addressed to their Majesties.

After many disputes, it was at length agreed that the Admiral should deliver to Roldan two good ships well manned and victualled for transporting him and his party to Spain: That they should be paid their salaries and wages to the day of their departure; and that such of their effects should be restored, as had been seized by his and the lieutenant's order. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships; but the weather being extremely boisterous, some time elapsed before they were ready, and could be brought round to Xaragua; and during this interval Roldan changed his mind, and refused to embark; but expressing a desire to see the affair accommodated, demanded a safe conduct in order to treat with Columbus in person. The latter being sensible of the mutinous disposition of his own people, was so solicitous about healing this division, that he not only complied with Roldan's demand, but went around with two caravels to the port of Azura near Xaragua, where he had a conference with the rebel chief, in which it was agreed, that fifteen of Roldan's followers should be sent home in the first ships bound for Spain; that lands and houses should be given instead of pay to those who remained; that Roldan should be again appointed perpetual alcade, and that an act of general amnesty should be published.

This troublesome affair being thus adjusted, the Admiral caused a captain, at the head of a body of men, to march round the island in order to pacify and reduce the rebellious Indians ; and that no cause of animosity might be left in Hispaniola, he proposed to take his brother the lieutenant with him to Spain ; but while he was preparing for the voyage, Alonso de Hojedo arrived in the island with four ships, from a cruise, in which he had pretended to make discoveries, and putting into the port Yaquimo, not only committed several outrages against the Indians, but by letter began to tamper with some of the Spaniards, who were hardly yet confirmed in their duty. To these he insinuated, the Queen Isabella was in a very bad state of health, and that, after her decease, the admiral would find no protection at court ; but must fall a victim to the hatred of Hojedo's kinsman, the Bishop of Burgos, and Columbus' inveterate enemy.

The admiral being informed of these proceedings, ordered Roldan to march against him with 21 men. This order he obeyed so suddenly, that Hojedo finding it impossible to escape went to meet him, excusing his landing, under pretence of his being in want of provisions, and declared that he had no intention to disturb the repose of the Island, but would soon sail to St Domingo, and give the admiral an account of his voyage. But notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced many of the people, by telling them, that he and Carvajal

had been appointed by their majesties counsellors, as he had not been so just as to pay them, they should go under his command, and do themselves justice by force. This wild scheme being opposed by some of the Spaniards, who were amazed at Hojedo's presumption, a tumult ensued, in which several persons were killed and wounded; but Roldan marching a second time against him, he retired to his ship. The alcade perceiving he was out of his reach, invited him to come ashore, and treat of an accommodation; and upon his refusal offered to go on board, when Hojedo sending his boat well manned, Roldan, with six or seven of his followers, entered it, and when it was least suspected, fell upon Hojedo's men, made themselves masters of the boat, and returned with it to land, which obliged Hojedo to submit to a treaty, and give security that he would depart the island.

Soon after another commotion was raised by Ferdinand Guevara, who was in disgrace with the Admiral, for being concerned in the late sedition, and he being exasperated against Roldan, for not permitting him to marry the Queen of Xaragua's daughter, entered into a conspiracy with one Adrian de Moxica, and having engaged many people in his interest, resolved to surprize and murder the Alcade. But Roldan being informed of their proceedings, took his measures so well, that he seized the chief conspirators, and being ordered by the Admiral to punish them according to law, he proceeded to a fair trial, in consequence

of which, Moxica was hanged, some of the confederates banished, and others sent to prison.

This example had such an effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island : and about this time, such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man left the King's pay, and went to dig on his own account, allowing the King one third of all that was found. In this employment they met with such success, that one man would sometimes gather forty ounces in a day, and a lump of pure gold was found that weighed 196 ducats.

While Columbus was thus exerting all his prudence, and exercising his humanity in appeasing the troubles of Hispaniola, he little thought a storm was raising against him at home. A number of malcontents had been sent to Spain during the rebellion, who represented him as an insolent alien, ignorant of the laws and customs of the Spanish nation ; oppressive and cruel in his disposition ; elated with the dignity to which he had been raised, and so avaricious and unjust, that he not only withheld the pay due to the servants of the government, but embezzled the riches of the island. They inveighed with still greater bitterness against his brother the lieutenant, nor did Diego escape the utmost virulence of their censure. These invectives being spread abroad by the friends of those who had been the disturbers of the peace of Hispaniola, and encouraged by many persons at court, who envied Columbus' success and reputation, such a clamour

was raised in Castile, that the King and Queen were daily surrounded in the streets, and even in the palace, by people, demanding justice against that proud and tyrannical foreigner, who had oppressed so many Castilians, and discovered a mischievous country to be the ruin and grave of the Spanish gentry; and the favourites at court joining the importunities of the people, their Majesties sent an inspector general to Hispaniola, with power to inquire into the Admiral's conduct, and if he should be found guilty, to send him home while the inspector was to remain governor of the island in his room. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of the order of Calatrava, but in very low circumstances, was chosen for this high office; and being furnished with full powers, arrived at St. Domingo in the latter end of August 1500, while the Admiral was at the Conception with most of the people of consequence, settling the affairs of that province.

Bovadilla finding nobody at St. Domingo who could be a check upon his conduct, immediately took possession of the Admiral's palace; seized his effects; assembled all who were disaffected to the brothers; declared himself governor; dispatched orders to the Admiral, to repair to him without delay, and to back this summons, sent him the King and Queens letter, which contained no more, than that their Majesties had sent the bearer to acquaint Columbus with their pleasure, which he was directed to obey, and this order was signed both by the King and Queen.

Columbus immediately on his receiving this letter, set out for St. Domingo, to wait upon Bovadilla, who, without any legal information, sent him and his brother Diego on board a ship, where they were laid in irons, placed under a strong guard, and entirely excluded from the speech of any person whatsoever. A process was then begun against them, and all their enemies being admitted evidences; their depositions were so malicious, incoherent and absurd, that nobody who had not been determined, at all events, to ruin the accused, would have paid the least regard to their allegations. Bovadilla, however, on this occasion, countenanced the most flagrant perjuries, and even encouraged the rabble to insult the prisoners, by blowing horns at the port where the ships lay at anchor, and by reading scandalous libels in the market-place. The lieutenant, who was not yet returned from Xaragua, might probably have rescued his brothers by force of arms, had not the admiral ordered him to submit quietly to their Majesties authority, vested in the person of the new governor, who had no sooner laid his injunctions on Andrew Martin, the captain of the ship, to deliver the admiral in irons to the bishop de Fronseca, by whose direction he acted, than he began to embezzle the treasure; squander the king's revenue amongst his creatures; oppress and plunder the Indians; countenance the greatest profligacy, and destroy all the prudent regulations established by the admiral.

Andrew Martin was no sooner out to sea, than

being ashamed to see the brave Columbus in this disgraceful situation, would have knocked off his irons; but he resolved to wear them during the whole of his passage, and to keep them ever after, as a memorial of the reward he had obtained for his services; and indeed these fetters he always preserved in his own chamber, and at his request, they were at length buried in the same coffin with his body.

On the 20th of November 1500, he wrote to their Catholic Majesties, to acquaint them with his arrival at Cadiz. Upon which they gave immediate orders for his being released; sent him very gracious letters, in which they expressed their sorrow for his sufferings, and invited him to court, promising that he should soon be sent again and fully restored to his honours.

On his return at Granada, the King and Queen gave him a favourable reception, and let him know, that they were offended at the author of his imprisonment, who had acted thus without their orders, and promised that he should have full satisfaction. Mean while they directed this affair to be examined, and the accusations against him plainly appearing malicious and frivolous, he was honourably acquitted, and at the same time, a new governor of Hispaniola was appointed in order to redress the Admiral's grievances, and oblige Bovadilla to restore what he had unjustly seized. This commission was granted to Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, a man of abilities, but crafty, cruel and revengeful, who

afterwards exercised great barbarity upon the natives and their chiefs.

It was at the same time resolved to send the admiral upon some voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed, till Obando could settle the affairs of Hispaniola; but there being some delay in the execution of this design, and the admiral being apprehensive of future disgrace, from the indefatigable efforts of his enemies at court, he desired to be excused from embarking again, and intreated their Majesties to defend him against all dangers. This procured him a very favourable answer, and soon after the most advantageous grants and concessions, which made him resolve once more to expose his life in another voyage to the Indies, in order to perfect his discoveries.

CHAP. IV.

A digression, containing the discoveries made by other Spaniards, while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage.

BEFORE we proceed to Columbus' next voyage, it is proper that we should give some account of the discoveries, whether real or pretended, before he again set sail for America. Alonzo Hojedo, who has been already mentioned in the course of this voyage, and Americus Vesputius, obtained from the Bishop of Burgos the draughts and plan, which by their majesties order Columbus had deposited in the hands of that prelate, who, out of hatred to that great commander, and to rob him if possible of his credit and reputation, gave them up without the knowledge of the king and queen. The licenses he gave these gentlemen were also clandestine. They set sail from Cadiz on the 29th of May 1499, and steered directly in search of the continent, pursuant to the admiral's scheme, which before this time he had actually carried into execution. This was the first voyage made by Americus Vesputius: and tho he now only touched at that part of the continent which had been visited by the admiral, yet he impudently pretended to discover it; and by confounding this with a voyage he afterwards made into those parts, dressed up a plausible sto-

ry, and being an excellent geographer and draftsman, imposed upon the greatest part of Europe. In Spain, however, he was soon detected; for pretending that he returned directly to that kingdom after a voyage of thirteen months spent in discoveries, Hojedo made oath that only five months were spent in the voyage, and that finding himself short of provisions they sailed to Hispaniola for a supply.

It was no sooner known that Alonzo Hojedo and Americus Vespucius had obtained the above licenses, than others resolved to make use of the same interest, in order to acquire a share of the riches of the new world; and a company was formed by some of the inhabitants of Seville, the principal of whom was Peter Alonzo Nino, of Palos, who was with the admiral when he discovered Paria, and Christopher Guerre, of Seville.

Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition of his not coming to an anchor, or landing within 50 leagues of any place discovered by Columbus, set sail soon after Hojedo and Vespucius; discovered land and arrived at Paria a few days after them, where finding the Indians behave peaceably, he, contrary to his instructions, landed and cut Brazil wood, and then continuing his course, came to what Columbus had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the island of Margarita, and the continent, and which he had visited in 1498.

The people here went on board Nino's ship, without any apprehensions, carrying pearl necklaces, and wearing jewels in their noses and ears;

for which the Spaniards gave them hawks-bells, bracelets, rings, and several trifles made of tin. Having thus purchased a considerable quantity of valuable pearls, the Spaniards passed by Coro near the province now called Venezuela, 130 leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth; anchored in a bay where they were well received by fifty men, who came from a place at a league's distance, and very earnestly pressed them to anchor at their town: upon which the Spaniards gave them some toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the space of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces,

The next day the Spaniards came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians made signs for them to come on shore; but being no more than thirty-three men, they durst not venture, and therefore by their signs invited the Indians to come on board, which they did in their canoes carrying pearls which they freely exchanged for toys: by which the Spaniards being convinced of their sincerity, landed and stayed twenty days on shore, during which they were courteously entertained with venison, rabbits, geese, ducks, parrots, fish, and bread made of maize. They perceived that the natives kept markets or fairs, that they had earthen jars, dishes, and other vessels of several shapes, and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other creatures made of gold. They asked by signs where that metal was gathered, and were answered in the same

manner, that it was got six days journey from thence, at a place called Curiana Cauchito.

The Spaniards therefore sailed thither, and found that the people were very tractable, for they came on board without the least jealousy, and bartered with them for wrought or unwrought gold, tho they would not part with their pearls. They also gave them some monkies, and very beautiful parrots of various colours.

Leaving this place they proceeded farther; but as they approached the shore, above 5000 naked men came armed with bows and arrows to oppose their landing; and tho they strove to please them by shewing them hawks-bells and other things, could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, where they were received with the same satisfaction as before, the Indians now trading with them for pins and needles, which the Spaniards shewed them would be of use in drawing the thorns out of their feet when they happened to tread on them. The Indians were highly pleased, thinking they had made advantageous bargains with the Spaniards, who carried away above 12000 ounces of pearls, some of which were very beautiful and well coloured, and as large as small hazlenuts; but they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron. The Spaniards were now so well satisfied with the success of their voyage that they resolved to return home, and arrived in Galicia on the 6th of February, 1500, two months after they left Curiana, when Nino and Christopher Guerre, who shared in the expense and profits of the voy-

age, were accused before the governor by their own ship's crew of having defrauded the king of his duty, which was the fifth part.

The great riches which the adventurers gained by this voyage promoted the spirit of discovery, more especially among such as knew the proposals made by Columbus, or had served under him in his first two voyages. Of these none was so capable of prosecuting them as Vincent Yanez Pinzon, of whom we have already spoken. He had a liberal education, great courage, and a large fortune; he therefore fitted out at his own expense, a squadron of four stout ships, with which he sailed to the Cape de Verde islands, where he took in refreshments, and steered from St. Jago about the year 1500, first standing to the south, and then to the west, and was the first subject of the crown of Castile and Leon that crossed the equinoctial.

But he had hardly passed the line, when he met with a dreadful storm, in which all on board expected to perish: However, having run 240 leagues farther to the westward, they on the 26th of February discovered land at a great distance, which Yanez called Cado de Consolation, or Cape Comfort*, and sounding, had fourteen fathoms water. Captain Pinzon going on shore, took possession of the country in the name of their Catholic Majesties, and endeavoured to the utmost of his power, though without effect, to introduce the people

* *It is now called Cape St. Augustine.*

to trade with him ; for the natives being inflexible, and having no good opinion of these invaders, an engagement ensued, in which some were slain on both sides.

This made Captain Pinzon resolve to retire and continue his voyage, which he did to the mouth of the river Marañon, where he observed a mighty struggle between the tide of salt water coming in and a vast current of fresh water pouring down from the land. The country at the mouth of this river, he found well inhabited on both sides, but not being able to persuade the inhabitants to traffic, he resolved without further delay, to proceed towards Paria.

Yanez, on his arrival at Paria, took in Brazil wood, and then struck over to the islands that lay in the way of Hispaniola : but when the ships were laying at anchor, there arose such a dreadful storm, that two of the four sunk in the sight of the others, with all the men ; a third was forced from her anchors with eighteen men, and carried out of sight : and the fourth, though she rode it out, beat so furiously, that the sailors believing she would be dashed in pieces, went ashore in the long boat, and had thoughts of murdering all the Indians they found, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to destroy them : but the ship that had been driven to sea with eighteen men returned, and the other which rode at anchor being saved, they sailed to Hispaniola, where they refitted, and returned to Spain about the lat-

ter end of September, after having discovered 600 leagues of the coast of Paria.

James de Lepe, a native of Palos, having heard of the expedition undertaken by Pinzon, applied himself to the Earl of Miranda his patron, and promising to perform wonders in case he would enable him to make the same voyage, his request was complied with, and he actually arrived at the mouth of the river Marañon, soon after Pinzon had left it: the people, being provoked at his seizing thirty-six men, and carrying them on board, vigorously attacked the Spaniards and killed several of them, which obliged him to prosecute his voyage to Paria, where he also quarrelled with the inhabitants, and returned without making the least advantage of this expedition, except taking a few Indian prisoners.

It is proper to observe, that Emanuel King of Portugal sending a considerable fleet to the East-Indies*, under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral in the year 1500, that admiral sailing to the S. W. to avoid the calms on the coast of Guinea, was so happy as to discover Brazil, one of the richest provinces in South America, by mere accident†. But it is now necessary to return to the discoveries made by the great Columbus.

* *The coast of India had been discovered by Vasco de Gama, in 1498 while Columbus was engaged in his third voyage to the West-Indies. See de Gama's voyage.*

† *See Cabral's voyage to the East-Indies, chap. 1. and the settlement of Brazil by the Portuguese, chap. 1.*

CHAP. V.

Columbus' fourth voyage. He arrives at Hispaniola, and meets with the basest usage from Obando the new governor, upon which he leaves that Island, and prosecutes his discoveries along the coast of Darien, where he expected to find a passage to the Indies: Sails to the haven of Porto bello: Sends a detachment up the river Veragua to the Indian mines, and after other excursions into the country, forms a settlement at the mouth of the river Belem, when being informed that a Cacique named Quibio intended to set fire to the houses, he causes him and his family to be seized, but they making their escape, attack the settlement, and killed several of the Spaniards; upon which the new settlers rejoin the admiral, who after suffering several hardships, run the ships on shore on the coast of Jamaica; whence they sent two canoes to Hispaniola. The hardships suffered by the people in the voyage, and the troubles the Admiral met with in Jamaica during his long stay in that island. The Spaniards sail thence to Hispaniola, and afterwards to Spain, where Columbus dies. Some account of his person and character.

COLUMBUS having received his instructions, sailed from Cadiz with four small ships, and one hundred and forty men, including boys; on the 9th of May, 1502, he arrived at St. Catharines, and departed from thence on the 11th for

Arzilla, a port-town of Morocco, then subject to Portugal, and invested by the Moors: He sailed thither, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress; but the Moors had raised their siege before his arrival; the Admiral therefore sailed for Grand Canaria, where he arrived on the 20th and having taken in wood and water for the voyage, proceeded on the 25th in the evening for the West-Indies, with so favourable a wind, that on the 15th of June, he arrived at the island of Martinico. He there took in a fresh supply of wood and water, and then sailed by the Caribbee islands to St Domingo in Hispaniola, where he intended to exchange one of his ships, which was a bad sailor, in order to continue his voyage, with less hindrance, to the coast of Paria, in quest of a strait which he concluded was near the place, since called Verugua and Nombre de Dios.

In order that the judge sent by their Majesties to call Bovadilla to an account, might not be surprised at his unexpected arrival, he, on his approaching the port, dispatched before him one of his captains, to signify the necessity of changing the ship, and to represent, that as he apprehended a great storm was approaching he proposed to secure himself in that port, and desired that the homeward bound fleet might not sail for eight days, by which means it would avoid the danger to which it would otherwise be exposed.

But so little inclined was this new governor to assist the Admiral with another vessel, that he would not even allow him to enter the port ; and disregarded his advice, permitted the fleet, in which were Roldan, and all who had been in the rebellion, to put to sea, on their return to Spain.

But the fleet had no sooner weathered the east point of Hispaniola, than there arose so terrible a storm, that the Admiral of the fleet, in which was Bovadilla, and most of the rebels, foundered, and this hurricane was so fatal to the rest, that of the eighteen ships that were in that fleet, only four were saved : while Columbus, who had foreseen the storm, and been refused admittance into an island which he had discovered, and added to the dominions of Spain, sheltered himself under the land. But the next day the tempest increasing, three of Columbus' vessels were forced out to sea, when the Bermuda, the ship he wanted to exchange, would certainly have perished, had she not been preserved by the admirable skill of his brother Bartholomew, who was allowed to be the most expert seaman of his time. The ships being thus separated, each concluded that the other was lost, till in a few days they met again in the port of Azua. The Admiral's satisfaction, however, was considerably diminished by the mortification he felt, upon reflecting that he had been denied shelter in a port where he had a right to command, and refused a privilege in his own island, that is never denied to strangers. However, the consequence of this storm furnished his

superstitious enemies with a pretence for saying, that he had raised it by magic, in order to destroy the fleet bound for Spain ; and what seemed to add weight to this ridiculous supposition, was, that the only ship of the eighteen that arrived in Spain was the *Aguja*, on board of which were 4000 pesos of gold belonging to the Admiral, while three others that resisted the fury of the waves, were forced in a shattered condition back to St. Domingo.

Columbus, while in the port of *Azua*, gave his men some refreshments after the storm, and allowed them to divert themselves with fishing, in which they had good success ; and amongst the rest of the fish they caught here, was one called the *Saavina*, which is as big as an ordinary church-bell, and laying asleep above water, was struck with an harping iron by the crew in one of the boats. One end of this iron being fastened to a long rope, and the other to the boat, the fish drew the boat after it as swift as the flight of an arrow, while those who were on board the ship seeing the boat skim about, and not knowing the reason, were greatly astonished, till at last the fish sinking, it was drawn to the ship's side and hauled up by the tackle. They also caught in the same bay the *Manatee*, or sea cow, an amphibious animal, whose flesh was compared by the people on board to that of veal.

Columbus having here repaired the damage his ship had sustained by the storm, sailed in order to make discoveries on the continent, and reached

the island of Guanaia, near the province now called Honduras, where Bartholomew Columbus going ashore with two boats, they saw a great number of pine trees and pieces of lapis calaminaris, which being mix'd with copper, some of the seamen mistook for gold.

From Cape Casinas, the Admiral was seventy days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward, the wind and current being contrary all the time. But as there was good riding along the coast, he tacked to and fro, and every night dropped anchor under the land ; but at length he reached a cape, to which he gave the name of Gracias a Dios, or Thanks to God ; because from that place, the land turning off to the south, enabled him to prosecute his voyage with a trade wind. However, a little beyond this head-land, he passed some dangerous sands, which for a considerable way ran out to sea.

On the 16th of September, being in want of wood and water, Columbus sent the boats into a river, that seemed to have a deep and good entrance ; but on their return, the wind blowing from the sea, and the waves running high against the current of the river, one of the boats with all her men, was lost, whence the admiral called this Rio de la Disgracia, or the River of Disaster. Still running to the southward, they, on the 25th, anchored near a little island called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent named Coriari, which is situated near a great river, to the banks of which a multitude of people resorted ; some with bows

and arrows, others with staves, of a wood as black as jet, as hard as iron, and pointed with fish bones; while others came with clubs. They seemed to have assembled with the intention of defending their country from invasion; the Spaniards were very desirous of bartering their commodities with them, which consisted of arms, cotton jackets, and pieces of pale gold, which they wore about their necks. With these things they swam to their boats, for the Spaniards did not go ashore that day or the next: nor would the admiral allow his people to take their goods in exchange; but presented them with several bawbles. Yet the less the Spaniards seemed to regard the traffic, the more eagerness they discovered for it, and made many signs for them to come ashore; but these proving ineffectual, they retired, leaving every thing they had received on the shore, where they were found by the Spaniards, at the place which they afterwards landed at.

The Indians at length supposing that the Spaniards did not confide in their sincerity, sent an old man of awful presence, carrying a flag upon a staff, attended by two young girls with pieces of gold about their necks. These, by the old man's desire, were conducted by the boats crew aboard the admiral, who ordering them to be clothed and fed, had them set on shore, where they were received with great satisfaction by the old man and fifty of the natives.

Bartholomew Columbus going ashore the next day in order to learn something of the country

two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms made him sit down between them. In this situation he began to interrogate them by signs, and ordered his secretary to write down what were supposed to be their answers; but they no sooner saw the pen, ink and paper, than they were in such consternation, that most of them ran away, imagining perhaps that they were implements of sorcery; for they had performed some ceremonies of exorcism before they approached the Spaniards, scattering a powder in the air, and burning some of the same powder, and endeavored to make the smoke fly towards the christians.

A few days after, the Admiral desired his brother to go ashore, with several men to view the town, and obtain some knowledge of the country. The most remarkable things he observed, were several tombs in a great wooden structure covered with canes in one of which was a dead body embalmed; in another, two bodies wrapt up in cotton sheets but without any ill scent, and over each tomb, was a board, upon which was carved the figures of beasts, and on some of them the effigies of the deceased, adorned with plates of gold about their necks, and other ornaments.

These being the most civilized Indians in those parts, the Admiral ordered some of them to be taken, out of whom he chose two who seemed to be the most intelligent; the rest were sent away with some presents and great civility, and endeavours were used to make them sensible that

their companions were detained for no other reason but to serve as guides upon that coast, and that in a little time they would be set at liberty ; but the natives believing they were detained thro' avarice, a number of them came down to the shore the next day, and sent four persons on board to treat for their ransom, with a present of two wild hogs which were very small. Columbus caused these deputies to be entertained with great civility, and though he would not grant their request he sent them away well satisfied, and amply paid for the hogs ; one of which was hunted on the deck by a kind of a wild cat of a greyish colour that had been caught in the woods by one of the sailors after he had cut off one of its fore-legs : this animal leaps from tree to tree, and not only fastens upon the branches with its claws, but even with its tail, by which it frequently suspends itself either for sport or rest. These hogs, though naturally fierce, no sooner saw this animal, than they ran terrified about the deck, when the admiral perceiving their fright, ordered one of them to be brought near the cat, which instantly wound its tail about the hog's snout, and fastened the fore-leg that remained upon its head, would soon have dispatched it, had not the men interposed.

On the 5th of October the admiral sailed into the bay of Caravaro, which is six leagues in length and about three in breadth. Here they found many small islands, with channels between them, through some of which the ships sailed as it were in lanes, the trees on each side brushing against

the shrouds. As soon as they anchored in this bay, the boats were sent to one of the islands, where there were twenty canoes on the shore, the people laying near them quite naked, having only a gold plate about their necks. They expressed no signs of fear, but for three bells gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats, and said there was a great plenty of that metal at a small distance from the shore on the continent.

The next day the boats were sent on shore upon the continent, and in their way met with two canoes full of people, who refusing to barter their gold plates, two of the chief persons amongst them were taken in order that the admiral might obtain some intelligence from them by means of the Cariari interpreters. The gold plate worn by one of these men weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's twenty two, and these confirmed what the islanders had said of the gold, which was to be found at the distance of two days journey up in the country. In this bay they took great numbers of fish, and on shore they found a large quantity of fresh provisions, and also great plenty of roots and fruit. The men were painted all over of several colours, as red, black and white, and had no other covering besides a narrow cotton cloth which hung round the waist.

From this bay the Admiral sailed into another very near it, and on the 17th pursued his voyage twelve leagues farther to the river Guaiga; when ordering out the boats to go ashore, the men were furiously assaulted by above one hundred Indians,

who ran up to the middles in the sea, brandshing their lances, blowing horns, and throwing sea-water towards the Spaniards, at whom they also spurted the juice of some shrubs they were chewing, with signs of detestation and defiance. The Spaniards, without either approaching or retreating, endeavoured to appease them, which at length they effected, and at least exchanged sixteen gold plates, worth 160 ducates, for a few bells and other bawbles. However, notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, the next day the natives lay in ambush for the boats; but perceiving that no body would venture to land, without knowing what disposition they were in, they rushed into the water as before, and even threatened to throw their javelins, provided the boats that lay upon their oars did not return to their ships. The Spaniards at length exasperated at this insolent behaviour, wounded one of them with an arrow and at the same time the Admiral firing one of his great guns, so terrified them, that they fled with precipitation; when four men landing, invited them by signs to return, on which, laying down their arms, they came back, and very peaceably exchanged their gold plates.

The Admiral then proceeded on his voyage, and casting anchor in the mouth of a great river, the people of the country were seen to assemble, and soon after sent two men in a canoe to the ship, who having talked with the Cariari interpreters, came aboard without any apprehensions, and by the advice of those Indians, gave their

gold plates to the Admiral, who, in return, presented them with some trifles. This canoe returning, another appeared with three men, who behaved in the same manner, and amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, where they found a great number of Indians with their King, who only differed from the rest in being covered with a large leaf of a tree, because it then rained very hard. This Prince, to set his subjects an example exchanged his plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which they instantly did, and the Spaniards received nineteen plates of pure gold. Here they saw an old wall, which seemed to be built with stone and lime; and this being the first part of the Indies where Columbus had discovered signs of a solid and regular structure, he brought away a piece of it, as a memorial.

The Admiral now sailing with a fresh gale to the eastward, held on his course to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made, which they wore about their necks; and continuing his voyage, he arrived at an harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto Bello, or beautiful Port, from its being very spacious, and encompassed by a fine and populous country. He entered this harbour on the 2d of November, passing between two small islands, with which the ships lay close to the shore, where he was obliged by the rain and bad weather to continue seven days, during which he was constantly visited by the people in canoes, who came from the

adjacent country, to barter fine spun cotton and provisions, for pins, points, and other trifles.

On the 9th he sailed eight leagues to the eastward; but the next day was forced four leagues back by stress of weather, and putting in among the islands near the continent where the town of Nombre de Dios now stands, called the place Puerto de Bastimentos, or the port of Provisions; because all those small islands were covered with corn. Here a boat well manned being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians were so frightened that they threw themselves into the sea, and swam away, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Spaniards to take some of them: for when a boat approached any of these Indians, they dived like a duck, and came up at the distance of a bow shot.

Columbus staid here refitting the ships till the 23d of November, when he continued his course eastward, trading with the Indians on the coast for provisons, and such pieces of gold as hung at their ears and noses. On the 24 he entered a small port, which he named The Retreat, from its being able to contain no more than five or six ships, and its being only fifteen or twenty paces wide at the mouth. On both sides, the rocks appeared above water, but the channel between them was so deep, as not to be fathomed, though if the ships inclined to either side, the men might leap on shore. The admiral was induced to enter this confined harbour, by the misrepresentations

of those who were sent to view it, whose avarice rendering them fond of dealing with the Indians, they were glad of laying close to the shore, in order to have a constant opportunity of changing trifles for gold.

The Indians at first came very familiarly to trade with the ships, till being provoked by the insolence and dissolute behaviour of the seamen, they began to have recourse to arms, and some skirmishes passed between them. As their numbers daily increased, their courage rose in proportion, and they at length seemed resolved to board the ships, when the Admiral had in vain attempted to appease them by patience and acts of civility, found that he was obliged to alter his behaviour, in order to convince them of his importance, and therefore commanded some of his guns to be fired; but this noise, which they found unattended with any bad consequences, gave them no apprehensions, and therefore they answered it with shouts, and beating the trees with staves, and by threatening signs shewed that they did not fear the noise. Upon which Columbus ordered one of the guns to be loaded with ball, and fired at a company of these Indians assembled upon a small eminence, when the ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible that he could make use of a thunder-bolt as well as of thunder; for they instantly fled, with such consternation, that for the future they durst not appear even on the mountains.

These were the best shaped Indians of any

they had yet seen, they being tall and slender, without the prominent bellies frequent in these parts. The country afforded but few trees and little grass, and in the harbour there were very large alligators, which went upon the shore to sleep, whence they diffused so strong a scent, that it seemed as if all the musk in the world was gathered together. If they found a man sleeping they would drag him to the water to devour him, but were fearful and timorous when attacked.

The ships had been nine days confined here by bad weather, when Columbus perceiving, that violent winds from the east and north-east continued to blow without ceasing, and that it was impossible to trade any longer with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to return, in order to obtain satisfaction about what he had heard of the mines of Veragua, and therefore on the fifth of December sailed back to Porto Bello; but the next day while he held on his course, the wind shifted to the west; however, not thinking this a settled gale, he bore up against it for some days, during which the weather was so extremely unruly and unsettled, that the sailors could scarcely stand upon deck: they had heavy and incessant rains, the air was filled with lightning, and the thunder roared incessantly. The men who were constantly wet to the skin, and exposed to all the violence of the storm began to be terrified, and to be filled with despair, especially when they found, that when the weather seemed a little to favour their

sailing to Veragua, the wind veered about, and drove them towards Porto Bello, and when they were in hopes of entering that harbour, they were beat off again. In the midst of this danger and distraction, they were near being overwhelmed by a water-spout, and to complete their misfortunes, they lost sight of one of the ships which they concluded was lost, till at the end of three dark and dismal days, in which she had been obliged to cast anchor, and afterwards been driven to sea with the loss of an anchor, and boat.

The men were now not only quite spent with cold, hunger and fatigue, but the ships almost shattered to pieces by the tempest, when they were relieved by a calm which lasted two days, during which they were surrounded by a prodigious number of sharks, that would bite at the hook, though baited only with a red rag. These had a dreadful appearance to the superstitious sailors, who imagined that as the ravens are said to smell out the dead bodies at a distance, so these ravenous fish were an omen of destruction, and were ready to devour them, as soon as the ship should fall to pieces. Many of these fish were caught, and from the belly of one of them was taken an entire turtle, and from another the whole head of a shark. which the sailors had caught and thrown into the sea; so that the individuals of this species seem to prey upon each other. The sailors, however notwithstanding their apprehensions, and this fish being allowed to make a very indifferent meal, ate them with great eagerness; for they

had now been eight months at sea, and had consumed all their provisions except their biscuit, part of which was so full of maggots, that many delayed cutting of it till it was dark, to avoid seeing what they were obliged to swallow.

On the 17th of December the admiral entered into a large harbour, where he permitted his men to repose themselves for three days; during which going ashore, they found that the inhabitants lived in huts built upon the tops of trees, sticks being laid from bough to bough; and the huts erected upon them: a custom which must have arisen from the fear of wild beasts; or of land floods.

In the beginning of January, 1503, they cast anchor near a river which the admiral named Belem or Bethlem; from his arriving there on the feast, of the Epiphany. To the westward of this river was that of Veragua, the water of which was shallow; however the boats went up it to the town, where they were informed that they should find the gold mines of Veragua, so often mentioned. The Indians at first stood upon their guard, in order to oppose the landing of the Spaniards; but an Indian interpreter going ashore, and representing them in a favourable light, the natives were pacified, and exchanged with them twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces of the same metal like joints of reeds, and some grains of gold that had never been melted; but to enhance their value they pretended they were gathered upon certain mountains at a great distance.

On the 9th the admiral's ship, attended by one of the others, sailed up the river Belem, when the Indians soon came to barter with the Spaniards bringing fish, which at some seasons of the year came up the rivers in incredible numbers; they exchanged some gold for pins, beads, and hawk-bells, and the next day they were joined by the two other ships that had staid behind for want of water.

On the third day after their arrival, Bartholomew Columbus went up the river with the boats to a town belonging to a Cacique named Quibio, who hearing of the lieutenant's design, came in his canoe to meet him, and having received each other in a friendly manner, discoursed by means of their interpreter for a long time together. The next day the same prince visited the admiral; made him some presents, and after a conversation which lasted an hour, during which his people exchanged some gold for bells, retired well pleased with his reception.

They had lived five days in this friendly manner, when the river suddenly swelled to such a surprising height, and rushed down with such impetuosity, that the Admiral's ship parted her cable, and running foul of the Galega, brought the foremast by the board, and both the vessels were in danger of perishing. This sudden swell of the river was supposed to proceed from a violent shower that had fallen upon the mountains of Veragua, which the admiral named St. Christopher's from their tops reaching above the clouds. On the 6th

of February the ships being caulked and refitted, the admiral sent his brother with sixty-eight men in boats to the river Veragua, the mouth of which was at a leagues distance from that of Balem; when rowing up, they arrived at the Cacique's town where they staid a whole day, enquiring the way to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence they received, they, the next day, travelled four leagues and a half, and came to a river which, on account of its windings, they passed forty-four times; the day following they arrived at the place to which they were directed, and in two hours time every man had gathered some gold about the roots of the trees, which were very thick and of a prodigious height. The sample was much valued, as none of those who went had any tools to dig, or had ever before gathered any. As the sole aim of this expedition was to obtain information relating to the mines, they returned well pleased to the ships, though, as they afterwards learned, the place they called the mines from which they had picked it, were not those of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town belonging to a people at war with the Cacique Quibio, who had artfully directed the Spaniards to his enemies mines, instead of his own.

On the 14th of February the Admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, followed by a boat with fourteen, and marched to the river of Urira, seven leagues west of Belem. The next day he was met by the Cacique, attended by twen-

ty men, who made them a present of provisions and some gold plates. During this intercourse the Indians chewed a dry herb, and sometimes added to it a sort of powder. Having rested a while in this place, the Spaniards and Indians went together to the town, whence abundance of people came out to meet them, and a house being provided for their lodging, they were hospitably entertained. Soon after came the Cacique of a neighbouring town named Durira, attended by a great number of Indians, who brought some gold plates to barter, and told the lieutenant that up in the country there were Caciques who had great quantities of gold, and that there were there many men armed like the Spaniards.

The next day Don Bartholomew marched with thirty men towards Zobabra, after his having ordered the rest to return by land to the ships. He here saw the ground for above six leagues covered with maize, and cultivated like the corn fields of Europe. He was at Zobabra kindly entertained by the natives, as he was also at another town called Cateba, at both which places he purchased some gold plates: but having now advanced a considerable way from the ships, without discovering any harbour along the coast or river, larger than that of Belem, where he might conveniently settle a colony, he returned with a large quantity of gold to the place from which he had taken his departure, and where it was now agreed to make a settlement under his command.

Proper dispositions being made, the sailors began to build houses of timber about a cannon-shot from the mouth of the river Belem, which they covered with the palm-trees leaves that grew along the shore, and a large building was also erected to serve as a storehouse and magazine, in which several pieces of cannon, with powder, provisions, and other necessaries, were lodged for the support of the planters ; while a quantity of wine, oil, vinegar, cheese and grain was deposited on board the ship Galega, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, with cordage, nets, hooks, and other fishing tackle for the use of the colony. Indeed these could not fail of signal service in a country that abounds with such quantities of fish, which are caught by the natives with hooks made of tortoise-shell.

The houses being erected, and proper regulations made for the preservation of the colony, the admiral resolved to return to Spain ; but his voyage was effectually prevented by want of water to carry the ships out of the river, and by a terrible surf that beat upon the shore, and threatened immediate destruction to any vessel that should approach it ; to render these circumstances the more unfortunate, the rains, which alone could swell the river, were past ; the bottoms of the ships were so worm eaten that they resembled honey-combs, and to compleat their vexation, one of their interpreters reported that Quibio intended to set fire to the houses of the Spaniards, who, contrary to his inclination, and to that of his peo-

ple, had made a settlement in his dominions.

Upon this occasion the Admiral concerted measures with his Brother for seizing the Cacique and his principal men, in order to carry them to Spain, as hostages for the good behaviour of his subjects : an expedient, which, however politic, was not at all agreeable to the humanity of Christopher Columbus on other occasions, and equally inconsistent with all the laws of nature and nations. However, on the 30th of March, the Lieutenant, attended by above seventy men, proceeded to Vera-gua, which consisted of straggling houses, and at a small distance from that place was desired by a messenger from the Cacique, not to come up to his house, which stood upon a hill ; but notwithstanding this request, the Lieutenant resolved to proceed with only five men, ordering the rest to follow two and two at some distance, and when they should hear a musket fired, to beset the houses, and let nobody escape. On his approaching Quibio's residence, he was met by another messenger, who entreated him not to enter the house, and told him that the Cacique himself would come out tho he was wounded by an arrow. Quibio, on his coming to the door agreeable to his promise, was immediately seized by the Lieutenant, and the musket being fired, the house was soon surrounded by the rest of the Spaniards, and about thirty persons made prisoners, without the least opposition, amongst whom were the wives and children of the Cacique, with some of his principal subjects, who offered

to ransom themselves with a large quantity of gold that was concealed in an adjoining wood. But the Lieutenant, disregarding their offers, ordered them all to be bound and carried on board, before the country should take the alarm; intending himself to stay with the greatest part of the men, to secure some of Quibio's kindred and subjects, whom he had not yet been able to take; he therefore delivered the prisoners to Juan Sanchez de Cadiz, an able pilot, who, with great confidence and alacrity, undertook to carry them on board to the Admiral. The pilot embarked with them in the boat, when Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Sanchez moved by compassion loosed them, but kept the rope with which he was tyed in his own hand. The Cacique now finding his hands at liberty, took an opportunity while the pilot was looking another way to plunge into the river, which he did with such violence, that Sanchez quitted the rope in order to save himself, and as it began to grow dark, and the boats was instantly filled with confusion, it was impossible to hear or see how he got on shore.

The Lieutenant perceiving that it would be impossible to overtake the fugitive Indians, the next day returned with his men to the ships, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, which was worth 300 ducats in gold plates, to his brother, who, after deducting the fifth part for their Catholic Majesties, divided the remainder among those who were employed in this expedition.

Soon after this the rains fell, and the floods coming down, opened the mouth of the river, upon which the admiral sailed out with three ships, leaving one for the service of his brother. He however came to an anchor at a league's distance in order to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time sent back the boat for water.

Quibio seeing that the three ships were gone, and being grieved and provoked at the loss of his wives and children, and also exasperated at the violence offered to himself, resolved openly to attack the settlement. The woods by which it was surrounded facilitated this enterprise, and enabled the Indians unperceived to reach a spot within ten paces of the houses, from whence they rushed upon the Christians, with dreadful shouts, throwing their javelins, not only at those who appeared, but also through the slender roofs, so that four or five men were dangerously wounded before the Spaniards were able to put themselves in a posture of defence. Don Bartholomew however being a man of great courage and resolution, sallied out upon the enemy with seven or eight of his men, and notwithstanding the Indians several times sallied, drove them into the wood; but though the Indians would not engage hand to hand, after they had felt the edge of the European swords, and the teeth of a dog, by which they were furiously attacked, they continued to throw their javelins at a distance, till they were driven from their covert, and obliged to fly, after they

had killed one Spaniard, wounded seven others, amongst whom was the Lieutenant.

Captain James Tristans whom the Admiral had sent ashore with the boat, and who appeared just as the Indians were obliged to retire into the wood, stood an idle spectator during the engagement, without suffering any of his men to land; and the battle being over, rowed a full league up the river to take in fresh water, at a place quite covered with wood, when the Indians sallying from the grove in their canoes, attacked him with a shower of javelins, and though the Captain sustained their onset with great gallantry, both he and the whole boat's crew were soon slain, one person only happening to fall over-board in the midst of the fray, dived to the bottom, reached the shore, and passed through the wood to the colony, where he gave an account of the disaster.

The colony was so terrified at this news, that they would immediately have abandoned the settlement, and joined the admiral in the ship he had left them, had they not been prevented by the lowness of the water at the mouth of the river, which was not sufficient to float their vessel, and the sea beat with such violence over the bar, that no boat could be sent to the Admiral with advice of their distress. He himself rode in a very dangerous open road without his long-boat, and was ignorant of the unhappy fate of the Captain and his crew; till he had the mortification to see their bodies driving down the river, covered with

wounds, and preyed upon by a number of carrion crows." This melancholy spectacle spread great despondence amongst his people, who concluded that the whole colony had perished. Meanwhile the Indians, elated at the advantage they had gained, returned to the attack of the settlement, which they carried on day and night without intermission, so that every Spaniard must have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment, had they not removed to an open strand, where they formed a barricado of casks and other lumber, and planted their cannon in such a manner as to make great havock among the enemy, who became terrified at those dreadful instruments of slaughter.

The Admiral waited ten days for fair weather, in order to send the only boat that now remained for intelligence, and to add to these vexations, several of the Indian prisoners who were confined in the hold, burst open the hatches in the night, leap'd into the sea and swam to shore, and those that remained being disappointed in their hopes of escaping in the same manner hanged themselves, by which means they had no hostages, by whom they might make a peace with Quibio.

As the weather still continued boisterous, and the Spaniards on board grew extremely impatient to learn the fate of their companions. one of the sailors offered to swim ashore, provided he might be carried in the boat to the place where the surf began to run high. This proposal, which was gladly embraced by the Admiral, was soon put in execution, and the sailor having obtained sufficient

intelligence from the colony, swam off again, and gave a circumstantial account of all that happened, and of the particulars of the divisions and dissensions which had now arisen amongst the men, who paid no regard to Don Bartholomew's authority, and were unanimous in nothing but their resolution to leave the place. They desired to be immediately taken on board, and resolved, if that was refused them, to put to sea in their own rotten vessel, since they had rather trust to the mercy of the waves, than to continue exposed to the resentment of the savages. Upon this Columbus agreed to send for them, and the weather becoming favourable, they left the country, taking with them all their goods and effects in the boat, and some canoes, which they lashed together, leaving nothing behind them, but the hulk of the ship, which was unfit for service.

The company being to their mutual joy reassembled, the Admiral sailed to the eastward, as far as Porto Bello, where he was obliged to leave one of his ships which was so leaky and worm-eaten that she could not proceed, and continued his course till the 10th of May, when he observed two small islands, which he named Tortugas from the great number of Turtle found there. Then continuing his course thirty leagues to the northward, he arrived at the island called Jardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Gardens, ten leagues to the south of Cuba, by which time the ships were so leaky, that the men were harrassed by working

at the pumps, tho', as they had scarcely any provisions left, they were but little able to support such fatigue: and in this unhappy situation they were overtaken with a dreadful storm, in which the ship *Bermuda* ran foul of the *Admiral*, and both were in the greatest danger of being foundered, and the same night they narrowly escaped being wrecked upon some sharp rocks.

The wind being at length abated, the *Admiral* sailed to an Indian town on the coast of Cuba, where having purchased some refreshments, he stood over to *Jamaica*, pumping and baling all the way, notwithstanding which the water rose up almost to the deck. In this situation he put into an harbour called *Puerto Reno*, but finding no fresh water there, steered to the eastward into another called *Santo Gloria*, where finding it impossible to keep the ships afloat, he ran them ashore, along side of each other, caused them to be propped upon each side to keep them upright, and sheds to be made on the poop and forecastle, to secure the sailors from the inclemencies of the weather, and the attempts of the Indians.

He here made it his study to oblige the natives, who resorted in great numbers to the ships with what they had to barter, and appointed two persons to superintend the market, and prevent frauds or abuses as well as to divide what was purchased equally among the sailors. - The regulation was both agreeable to his own men, and to the Indians who exchanged two small animals like rabbits, for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for

two green or yellow beads ; for things of greater value, a hawk-bell : and sometimes a Cacique or other considerable persons had a present of a pair of scissors, or a small looking-glass.

The Admiral having consulted with the officers on the best means of leaving that island, it was agreed to send an account of their situation to Nicholas de Obando governor of Hispaniola, and to Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the Admiral's factor there, to desire that a ship might be freighted and sent to their relief at the Admiral's expence. Two canoes were chosen for this dangerous expedition, in one of which James Mendes de Segura, the Admirals chief secretary embarked, wth six Spaniards and ten Indians to row it, and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, went with the same orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival. They then rowed to the easternmost point of Jamaica, under the conduct of the Admiral's brother, who took care to supply him with every thing necessary for the voyage, which was a very extraordinary one to be performed by canoes, since the distance between the two islands amounted to thirty leagues, without any intervening land except a small rock or island about eight leagues from the coast of Hispaniola. Don Bartholomew made them wait for a calm, and then ordering them to prosecute their voyage, staid till they were out of sight.

They launched out at night, the Indians who rowed sometimes leaping into the water to cool themselves, and then returning to the oar again.

The second day after their departure they all began to be much tired ; but the two chiefs encouraged the men, advising them to eat in order to recover their strength. The Indians being heated by the sun and by labouring at the oar, soon emptied their calabashes of water, and the heat increasing, their thirst increasing with it, so that by noon they had no strength left. They were then relieved by the commanders frequently giving them something to drink out of their rundlets, which supported them till the cool of the evening. They were soon greatly distressed with the apprehension that they had lost their way, and had missed a little island about eight leagues from Hispaniola, where they expected to refresh themselves ; and that afternoon they threw an Indian overboard who died with thirst ; others lay stretched out, and quite disabled, while the rest expected death, and held salt water in their mouths to cool them, but could receive no comfort from it.

They proceeded the second night without seeing the island, till the moon rising, it was happily discovered, when they all joined in encouraging the Indians ; shewing them the land, and gave them small sips of water, which so revived their spirits, that by break of day they arrived at the island. They however found it to be a solid rock, about half a league in compass, without a single tree or spring of water, yet going about from one cliff to another, they collected in the hollows more than was necessary to quench their thirst, for being scorched with drought, they

drank so much, that some of the poor Indians died upon the spot, and others fell sick. There they staid till the afternoon, and having rested and refreshed themselves with the shell-fish they picked up along the shore, went on board in the evening, and steered to the nearest land of Hispaniola, where they arrived early in the morning. Fiesco having rested two days, was desirous of returning to the admiral according to his promise: but was obliged to desist, because neither the sailors nor Indians would accompany him in the voyage. Mendes, though he laboured under a quartan ague, occasioned by his sufferings at sea, immediately set out for Xaragua, where he informed the governor of the admiral's situation, and, after much importunity, obtained leave to purchase a ship at St. Domingo.

To return to the island of Jamaica: soon after the departure of the canoes, the men who were left behind began to grow sickly, in consequence of a change of provisions, and the fatigue they had suffered, whence a spirit of discontent diffused itself among them. They now privately murmured, and caballed against the admiral, whom they accused of being the cause of all their misfortunes. The chief promoters of these discontentments, were two brothers whose names were Porras, one of whom had been captain of the ship Bermuda, and the other purser of the fleet; and these having gained over forty-eight of the men, resolved to declare their intentions. Accordingly on the 2d of January 1504, Captain Francis de Porras,

whom they had chosen for their leader, went upon the quarter-deck, and addressed himself to the Admiral, asked, "What is the reason, my Lord, that you will not return to Spain, but keep us here to perish?" From this insolent question, Columbus readily suspected that a mutiny was formed, and very calmly replied, that he did not see how it was possible for them to return to Spain, till they were assisted by a vessel from Hispaniola, and that they well knew, he had already, by their unanimous advice, sent for a ship, and if they had any better method to offer they might propose it. Francis de Porras replied, there was no need of much advising, and that he might embark immediately or stay behind, and then turning his back, added, "I will go to Spain, with all that will follow me;" and being immediately seconded by all the mutineers, after causing much confusion on board the ship, seized ten canoes which the Admiral had bought from the Indians, and being joined by many who were sick, went to the eastern point of Jamaica, whence Mendes and Fiesco had departed for Hispaniola. In their way they committed all manner of outrages upon the poor Indians, whom they advised to apply for redress to the Admiral, and to put him to death if he refused to give them satisfaction, adding, that his design in staying was to involve them in such misery as he had already entailed upon the inhabitants of the other islands.

Having reached the point, they attempted to pass over to Hispaniola with some Indians whom they had compelled to go on board to serve as rowers ; but they had not got four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, beginning to freshen, and the sea to rise, they thought fit to lighten the canoes, which were heavy laden, by throwing what they had overboard, except some provisions, water and their arms, and at last the poor Indians who rowed. These unhappy people swam till they were weary, and then hung by the canoes to recover themselves, when the barbarous ruffians cut off their hands, and thus eighteen of those poor creatures perished, and none would have escaped, had not those inhuman monsters for their own sakes kept a few to row them back to Jamaica.

On their returning ashore, some were for taking the advantage of the easterly wind and currents for passing over to Cuba, whence they would have a short cut to Hispaniola ; others were for returning and making peace with the admiral, or depriving him by force of all he had in his possession. But it was agreed by a majority of voices, that they should wait for a calm, and then make another attempt to pass directly to Hispaniola. They staid a month or six weeks waiting for this opportunity at an Indian town near that cape, during which they plundered the poor natives ; but having made two unsuccessful efforts to perform the voyage, quitted their canoes, and rambled from place to place, sometimes bartering with the

people for provisions, and sometimes taking them by force.

Christopher Columbus exerted all his address to remove the bad impressions made by the mutineers on the minds of the Indians, by which means he engaged them to supply him with provisions, and at the same time employed his humanity in the relief of the sick, all of whom recovered: but his being constantly supplied with provisions, producing a scarcity among the Indians, who sowed a little more than was just necessary for their subsistence, they began to grow remiss in their attendance, and he being no longer plentifully supplied, more of his men revolted, and the natives who were already stocked with the commodities brought by the Spaniards, no longer considered Columbus as in a situation that commanded respect or obedience.

In this dilemma the admiral fell upon a very extraordinary expedient for retrieving his character and affairs with these savages. As he knew there would be an eclipse of the moon within three days, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola who was on board and spoke Spanish, to assemble the cacique and principle men of that district in order to confer with them on an affair in which they were nearly concerned, and they obeying the summons the day before the eclipse, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were christians, and believed in God, who created heaven and earth, rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked, and therefore would not suffer the rebellious Spa-

niards to pass over to Hispaniola, tho he had conducted Mendes and Fiesco to that island ; that the same Almighty Being was displeased at the Indians for neglecting to supply his distressed servants with provisions in exchange for their commodities, and was therefore determined to punish them with pestilence and famine, as a proof of which God would give a token of his anger in the sky, and that very night they should see the moon rising with a bloody aspect, to point out the punishment God would inflict upon them.

This prediction had different effects upon the Indians, some of whom went away in a fright, while others laughed at it as an idle story ; but on their perceiving the moon actually eclipsed, and the darkness increasing as she rose, they were universally filled with consternation, and running from all quarters loaded with provisions, intreated the admiral to intercede with God, and prevail with him to be no longer angry with them, and that they would take care to supply all his wants.

The admiral replied that he would offer up his prayers for them, and then shutting himself up till the eclipse was at the height and ready to decrease, told them that he had been offering up his petitions to heaven for their preservation, and that God had been so good as to forgive them, on their promise of being kind and hospitable to the christians, and as a testimony of his forgiveness, they should see the moon by degrees resume her former splendor. In short the Indians perceived the eclipse disappear, praised the God of the christians,

returned the admiral many thanks, and continued to supply him plentifully with provisions; tho some of them had formerly seen such eclipses, they all tho't it impossible to foretell them, without an immediate correspondence with the Deity, therefore considered Columbus as in a peculiar manner the favorite of Heaven.

Eight months having elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco without the admiral's obtaining the least intelligence of them, the people supposed they had either perished at sea, or been killed by the Indians of Hispaniola in their way to St. Domingo, began to be exceedingly dejected, and their fears were confirmed by a canoe which they found upset and driven by the current upon the coast. These apprehensions daily increasing, at length produced a second conspiracy, headed by one Bernardan, apothecary of Valentia, and two of his companions, who in imitation of the other mutineers, formed a scheme for deserting the admiral; but its execution was prevented by the arrival of a vessel sent by the governor of Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to an anchor near the wrecks, came in a boat to deliver a letter with compliments from the governor, and presented the admiral with a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon, and these being delivered, Escobar weighed anchor and sailed back that same evening.

Columbus was greatly mortified at his abrupt departure; but, however, made use of this event to put an end to this second conspiracy; for he

told the men that he was resolved not to go away without them, and as that little caravel was not sufficient to carry them all, Escobar went away so suddenly that he might lose no time in bringing them relief. This declaration had such an effect upon the conspirators, that they immediately laid aside all thots of their designs; but the true reason of that ship's arrival was, that Lares, governor of Hispaniola, was apprehensive that the admiral would, upon his return to Spain, be reinstated in his government, and had sent Escobar to observe his situation, and whether he might not easily be destroyed. However, from this caraval Columbus received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of Mendez and Fiesco at Hispaniola, and did not doubt but that in consequence of their remonstrances, he should be speedily relieved.

The admiral being desirous of reducing the mutineers who had behaved in so scandalous and base a manner, rather by fair means than by force, sent two persons to acquaint them with the advice he had received, to desire them to return, and to let them know that in that case no notice should be taken of what had happened; but Francis de Porras dreading the consequences of a reunion, met these messengers at a distance, and answered that they would not trust the admiral; but would behave themselves peaceably in the island if he would promise to procure a ship to carry them off; or if he had but one, assign one half of it to them for their own convenience, and give them an half share of the clothes and commodities

that were still in his possession, since they had lost all their own effects, otherwise they would come and take the whole by force of arms. As for the caraval from Hispaniola, they asserted that it was only a delusion, which the admiral, who was a great magician, had raised by enchantment.

The mutineers actually resolved to put their threats in execution, and marched to an Indian village within a quarter of a league of the wrecks, when the admiral being informed of their design, sent his brother with fifty men well armed to expostulate with them, and persuade them to return to their duty ; but to refrain from all acts of hostility till they should be first attacked. Don Bartholomew posted himself on a rising ground within bow-shot of the mutineers, and then sent the two messengers the admiral had employed before to offer terms of peace ; but the mutineers treating this condescension as the effect of fear, they fell upon his men with great confidence of victory : six of the boldest having solemnly sworn to fight the lieutenant, whose death they imagined would disconcert his followers. However, they were disappointed, for at the very first charge five of them were slain. Francis de Porras boldly singled out the lieutenant, and at one blow clove his target down to his hand, which he wounded ; but not being able suddenly to recover his sword, was made prisoner, after having received many wounds. The lieutenant then rushed upon the enemy, and being seconded by his men, obliged them to fly with precipitation, and

having obtained a complete victory, returned to the wrecks with a good number of prisoners.

The next day the fugitives sent a petition to the admiral, in which they confessed their fault, begged pardon, and promised to serve him faithfully for the future; and this they solemnly swore to perform. The admiral instantly granted them a free pardon, and took them again into his protection: but to prevent future animosities, kept Francis de Porras a close prisoner, and appointed a proper person to command and lead them about the island, in order the better to produce subsistence in exchange for the commodities with which he caused them to be supplied.

In this posture were affairs in Jamaica, where the Admiral had been a full year, when a ship arrived freighted by James Mendes, attended by a caravel, and Columbus embarking with his whole company on the 28th of June 1504, set sail for Hispaniola; but the wind and current being contrary, they had a troublesome voyage, and did not reach St. Domingo till the 13th of August. The governor with all the city went out to meet him; paid him many compliments, and lodged him in his own house; but this outward shew of respect was meer affectation, for he caused Francis de Porras to be set at liberty, and threatened to punish those who had adhered to the Admiral in his greatest dangers.

Columbus being sensible of the deceitful manner in which he was treated, and of the true motives of the governor's behaviour, chose to con-

ceal his resentment: prepared for his departure, and on the 12th of September embarked on board a ship provided by his agents, and also took with him the vessel that had brought him and his people from Jamaica; but they were no sooner out of port, than the main mast of the lesser vessel came by the board. Upon which he ordered her back to St Domingo, and continued his voyage in the other. He had not, however, been long at sea before he met with a violent tempest, wherein all on board expected every moment to perish, and in which they lost their main mast; but making a jury mast of the yard, they continued their voyage, and after being exposed to another storm, that carried away their foremast, arrived at the port of St Lucar.

Columbus upon his landing was greatly afflicted at the news of the death of his best friend and only patroness, Queen Isabella; for though King Ferdinand always treated him with some degree of respect, he well knew, that he was far from having any real kindness for him, or even any inclination to do him justice.

That prince thought the Advantages he had stipulated for himself were too considerable, and therefore instead of fulfilling his engagements, offered him a large estate in Spain in exchange for what was his due in the West Indies. Columbus, who was confined to his bed, was extremely displeased with this treatment; but while he was endeavouring to obtain his just demands, his solicitations were interrupted by King Ferdin-

and's taking a journey from Valladolid to Laredo to wait for his son in law King Philip, and Queen Johanna his daughter, and before Ferdinand's return, Columbus' illness increasing, he died on the 20th of May 1506, aged sixty four. His body was conveyed to the monastery of the Carthusians at Seville, where some authors say he was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, on which is the following inscription :

A CASTILIA YA LEON,
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

In English.

*To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a new world.*

Others assert that his body was carried from the above monastary to the city of St Domingo in Hispaniola, and that he lyes interred in the cathedral, which may probably be true, notwithstanding the above monument erected to his honour at Seville.

Thus did this truly great man, who was the son of a woolcomber of Cogureto, a village in the territory of Genoa, and yet by his abilities not only raised himself and his family to nobility, but rendered himself, by his discoveries, the greatest man of the age in which he lived. He was, however in many respects, treated with ingratitude both by the King, and those who were under his com-

mand ; and it is no small blemish to King Ferdinand's character, that he did not do justice to his merit, but always meanly endeavoured to falsify his engagement with him. To Columbus justly belongs the honour of giving a name to the New World which from him ought to have been called Columbia, while the name of America was bestowed on what he discovered from that of Americus Vesputius, who had no just title to that honour. Columbus by discovering a New World, opened new sources of commerce ; he settled Hispaniola, took a view of Cuba ; visited and resided for a considerable time in Jamaica, bestowed the name of St. John on the island of Porto Rico, and discovered almost all that could be properly called the West-Indies. He indeed but barely saw the continent, but then he saw both parts of it, and the isthmus that unites them ; and left behind him schemes for extending these discoveries, and conjectures on the consequences that might attend them.

We shall conclude this account with a description of his person, and the character given of him by a Spanish historian justly esteemed for his fidelity: " Columbus was tall of stature, had a long visage, " and a majestic aspect, an aquiline nose, grey " eyes, and clear and ruddy complexion. When " young his hair and beard were fair ; but the " many hardships he suffered, soon turned them " grey. He was a man of wit and pleasantry, " was eloquent in discourse, and yet moderately " grave. His affability to strangers, and his dis-

“ creet conversation, gained him the affection of
“ every ingenious mind ; and he had an air of
“ authority and grandeur that attracted respect.
“ He was very strict in religion according to
“ the mode of his country, and obliged such as
“ were under his command, to shew at least a
“ decent regard to it. He had an earnest concern
“ for the conversion of the Indians, and endeav-
“ oured as much as was in his power to allure
“ them, by obliging the Spaniards to lead a life
“ in some measure agreeable to the faith they
“ professed. He was a man of undaunted cour-
“ age ; was fond of great enterprizes ; temperate
“ in eating and drinking, and modest in his dress :
“ he was patient and ready to forgive wrongs, and
“ only desirous that offenders should be sensible
“ of their faults. He remained unmoved amidst
“ the many troubles and adversities that attended
“ him, ever relying on the Divine Providence.
“ In short, had he in much earlier times perfor-
“ med so wonderful an enterprize as the discovery
“ of the New World, he would probably have
“ had not only statues and temples erected to
“ his honour, but some star would have been dedi-
“ cated to him, as was done to Hercules and Bac-
“ chus. However, his name will be remembered
“ as long as the world endures.”

THE END



Richard D. Smith

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